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Editorial Notes

THAT unnecessary war which breaks out from time to time between the amateur and the professional has flared up again in the columns of a contemporary. It began with an article published by Professor Stuart Piggott, who though now securely entrenched in the ranks of the professional 'army', began like most of us as an amateur. The moral is of course obvious, the more so as archaeology has long been a profession where vacancies are hard to fill.



It is difficult to discover what the fuss is all about. Some of those who are most vocal seem to imagine that professors want to suppress amateurs or monopolize opinion; the truth is that whole-time students are much too deeply immersed in masses of facts to bother much about mere opinions, which too often take the form of vague theorizing unsupported by evidence. Anyone of course is free to express an opinion; its value depends upon the factual knowledge and experience of the person who expresses it. Opinions about the meaning of place-names, for example, are valueless if the early forms are unknown; such opinions, when expressed as articles, are rejected, not because editors dislike amateurs—they don't—but because the writers have not taken the trouble to learn their job. In such cases the remedy lies with the amateur; and it is observed that the most aggressive are those who have contributed least to knowledge. Not only is there nothing (except economic difficulties) to prevent an amateur from practising and eventually becoming a professional, if he wishes; but it is also true that there is nothing that gives the professional (whether as professor, editor or civil servant) such pleasure as to come across an amateur who really means business and can be helped.



Given the necessary leisure—and where there's a will there's always a way to find it—the amateur can always somehow familiarize himself with the facts of archaeology, or history, or geology, or whatever subject it is that interests him. And unless he can so familiarize himself, he will never become an archaeologist in any real sense. He cannot become one simply by reading books, going to lectures or even by attending the meetings of archaeological societies, though these all help, and especially the human contacts of the last. Nor do people become archaeologists by writing books about the lost continent of Atlantis or the Children of the Sun or Downland Man, but by walking

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about the country with a map and an observant eye. Nor do they become archaeologists by learning a dead language; it is much more necessary to be able to draw plans and sections, to take photographs, to give first aid to fragile objects and to understand the soil. It is not the professional archaeologist who prevents the amateur from acquiring such qualifications as these.



Modern archaeology began with Boucher de Perthes, Schliemann and Pitt-Rivers. Boucher de Perthes was the first to reason from objects to logical conclusions (and not to books); what he found was not explained by quotations from the classics; it explained itself—and the antiquity of man. Schliemann was the first to dig for knowledge, not museum specimens; his technique was as good as he could make it, and (as his notes show) much better than his books would suggest. Pitt-Rivers created the modern technique upon a secure basis of military precision and discipline. All were amateurs; there were then no professionals outside museums. Boucher de Perthes was the typical local antiquary, Pitt-Rivers the typical country gentleman. Those heroic days have passed; the success of the pioneers was due to a combination of personal qualities with concentration on a chosen subject maintained by enthusiasm and will-power. Again no professional archaeologist stands in the way of the amateur who wishes to succeed.



It is difficult to give any advice that will be of much constructive use in a particular case; so much depends upon the exact conditions. Generally however it is best to proceed from the particular to the general, from the known to the unknown; to try to relate the particular enquiry to some matter of general interest. To be able to do this demands some knowledge of theory, of what archaeology aims at. Such background knowledge *can* be got from books (including the back numbers of ANTIQUITY). Once acquired it enables one to see things that otherwise would be overlooked. One learns, for example, that the important things in human history are the common things—houses, tools, roads, pottery, domestic animals and plants, simple forms of art and decoration. A traveller in the Balkans or Arabia will come across houses built of mixed rubble and timber, and will remember, perhaps, the similar construction (called *opus Gallicum*) of some Scottish, French and Swiss hill-forts, petrified also in the obelisks of Axum (see ANTIQUITY XX, 4–8; 60–69). Or he may observe some primitive type of boat, perhaps one that even Mr Hornell has missed, or unrecorded varieties of domestic animals. By photographing them (especially close up and in detail) he will be doing a useful piece of work; such photographs are seldom taken and much in demand. Editors and publishers are often glad to use such illustrations (when they are good enough). There is no ‘closed shop’ here.



At home there is field-work. The scope is unlimited, and the material equipment an Ordnance Map on the scale of $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 6 inches to the mile. There are many miles of Roman roads still to be discovered and put on the map; the best and only training is to walk along a good stretch of *known* road, study its appearance and habits, consult some of the standard articles and books (such as Mr Margary’s on the roads of the Weald), and then try and fill one of the many gaps on the Ordnance Map of Roman Britain. Once

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one has become familiar with the signs one can find Roman roads to test on the ground merely from a study of the 6-inch Ordnance Map, especially in Wales, where even on the map one notes some earthworks that are probably unrecognized Roman forts. A very little experience shows where such forts are likely to be situated. In the field many unexpected minor discoveries can be made. If the amateur archaeologist prefers navy work on a dig to this exciting pastime, the professional will hardly try and dissuade him, but the choice is open ; there is no ' direction ' of his labour.

Let it not for a moment be imagined that the professional despises the amateur, or wishes to keep him out. If the amateur has the root of the matter in him the professional will welcome him with open arms and do all he can to help him (though this is not always easy) ; but the amateur must do his own thinking. Certain techniques can only be learnt in the orthodox way, by undergoing a course of training ; field-work can only be learnt by doing it. Baiting professors may be amusing and good for the circulation ; but to be effective it must be factual and realistic.

The picture which we publish as a frontispiece was taken last August in the island of Sark by Mr Timothy Myres. We publish it partly because it is a very good illustration of a purely medieval type of arable husbandry, partly because it is also a very charming picture. There are probably few places in northern Europe where this kind of work still goes on, and one who saw the scene ' had a feeling that this was taking place round about the Norman Conquest, and that I could have got on terms at once with the harvesters had I spoken to them in the Norseman's French which their *patois* recalls '. As can be seen, the field is divided into strips, the two nearest being fallow ; on the second are curious circular ricks with hollow centres to which the children are dragging the sheaves of oats that are being harvested on the third. The whole family is engaged on the job—two men, two women, and several children (not to mention the dog, who appears to have important business to attend to elsewhere). The oats had been sown broadcast and cut with a scythe. When the picture was taken, the four grown-ups were making their second turn up the full length of the strip, gathering the swathes and binding them by hand into sheaves. The scene brings to life again the activities that must have gone on every year in every agricultural village in England, and is a nice illustration complementary to recent notes in *ANTIQUITY* about strip-cultivation.

We would remind our readers that subscriptions for 1949 are now due and should be sent (together with the enclosed form) to *ANTIQUITY*, The Wharf, Newbury, Berks. This address, and not the Gloucester one, is now the one to which all such correspondence should be sent. An early payment saves labour and is much appreciated. Forms have been inserted only in the copies of those subscribers who have NOT yet paid.

Romano-Buddhist Art : an old problem restated

by R. E. M. WHEELER

SINCE about 1870, when a Dr Leitner, of the Punjab service, brought from north-western India a small collection of Buddhist 'Indo-Scythian' sculptures to England, the literature of the so-called Gandhāra art has not ceased to grow, and the last decade has added rather more than its quota. Dr H. Buchtal has re-emphasized and re-illustrated the affinities between this Buddhist art and that of the Roman Empire (1). Dr L. Bachhofer has recognized the emergence of a Partho-Buddhist art based on secular Hellenistic imports into Gandhāra in the 1st century A.D. (2) Entrenched behind the formidable ramparts of his unpublished Taxila, that great veteran Sir John Marshall has machine-gunned both the learned doctors with a vigour most happily unimpaired by the ills to which he lightly refers (3). And, since I do not always find myself in agreement with Sir John, I may at once say this : that, had Drs Buchtal and Bachhofer done no more than draw his fire, they would have deserved sufficiently well of us.

To-day the problems of Gandhāra or (to retain the established generic name for the moment) Graeco-Buddhist art have reached a stage at which nothing short of fresh and impeccable material evidence can advance their solution. Reserving Taxila until its explorer's long-awaited report appears, we may affirm that not a single Buddhist site in India or Afghanistan has been excavated with any approach to modern method. Indeed it is not too much to say that, if during the past generation an obscure Roman villa in England had been dug into by a local antiquarian society with the disregard for detail that has consistently marked the excavation of monumental Buddhist sites in India during the same period, our Ancient Monuments Department would have intervened by telegram. The result of this spoliation has been the accumulation of a mass of highly intriguing but undocumented sculpture ranging through almost every shade of style from that of a substantial Sophocles or Apollo Belvedere to an almost wholly Indianized abstraction. The general problem has been further complicated during the last twenty years by the attempted division of this accumulation into two schools separated alike by time and medium. In the circumstances, it has seemed to me that, even in the dearth of new data, we may profitably employ ourselves for a while in restating the problem as it stands at the present moment, prior to handing it over once more with our hopeful blessing to some skilled fieldworker.

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By way of preface, it may be recalled that, with the very doubtful exceptions of certain stūpa-mounds at Lauriyā-Nandangarh in northern Bihar and Piprahwa in eastern U.P., there are no material relics of Buddhism that can be ascribed to a period prior to the great Aśoka (c.273-232 B.C.). Thereafter a mass of architectural, structural

¹ 'The Common Classical Sources of Buddhist and Christian Narrative Art', *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1943, pp. 137 ff.; 'The Western aspects of Gandhāra Sculpture', *Proc. Brit. Academy*, LXXXI (1945), 3 ff.

² 'On Greeks and Śakas in India', *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.* LXI (1941), 223 ff.

³ *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1946, pp. 116 ff.; *ibid.* 1947, pp. 3 ff.

and pictorial evidence bears witness to a variety of evolving ideas and schools which it is convenient, though not strictly correct, to classify broadly under the two main divisions of Buddhist observance; the Hīnayāna or Lesser Vehicle of Salvation, and the Mahāyāna or Greater Vehicle. This is not the context in which to consider in any detail the differences between the two observances, but the broad distinction is of relevant importance and was briefly this: that Hīnayāna Buddhism was primarily a moral philosophy not altogether dissimilar to the Stoicism of the West, whereas the Buddhism associated (though not exclusively) with the Mahāyāna observance was a religion. In the former the Buddha was an inspired teacher who preached the Middle Path between indulgence and asceticism and adopted the traditional Indian belief in rebirth, seeking an ultimate deliverance from accumulated sin in supreme detachment, *nirvāṇa*. The Buddha was not a god, and the earlier Buddhism was a way of life, not a religion. By a process of evolution, however, natural to a country where reverence for the teacher is deep-seated, the Buddha gradually assumed the stature of a god to whom prayer might properly be offered, and this process received formal recognition in or about the 2nd century A.D., when the Mahāyāna persuasion became the dominant mode.

For our present purpose, the outstanding difference between the two types of Buddhism was that during the prevalence of the Hīnayāna teaching the Buddha himself was never represented in art. His presence was symbolized by a chair, a footprint, an umbrella, a riderless horse. About this symbol crowd in tumultuous masses the other participants in the scene; but there is no central commanding figure. In Mahāyāna Buddhism, on the other hand, the figure of the divine Buddha controls the assembly and is the focus of its composition. Both iconographically and aesthetically, the change was revolutionary.

In the present paper we are concerned only with the sculpture of this later Buddhist phase, and we are justified on more than one account in abstracting it from its environment. Although, as has often enough been pointed out, there is no integral 'Buddhist period' in Indian history, it cannot be denied that during the seven centuries between 250 B.C. and A.D. 450 most of the surviving sculpture of the highest quality in India was associated with Buddhism; and it was, above all, Buddhism that during the same period (and particularly the latter part of it) spread Indian art and idiom through the highways and byways of Asia. Archaeologically at least we cannot treat Buddhism merely as a heresy against a prevailing and fundamental Brāhmaṇical orthodoxy, however little its tenets may have affected the routine of village-life.

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Here we are concerned with the art which centres round the Buddha not merely as a Presence but as a Person. The earliest undisputed personification of the Buddha occurs on certain coins of the Kushāna king Kanishka, whose accession to a kingdom based on Gandhāra (the Vale of Peshawar and its environs) has been variously dated between A.D. 78 and 144. The latter date is that calculated recently by R. Ghirshman, ingeniously arguing backwards from the incompletely published epigraphical evidence found in 1939 at Naksh-i-Rustam for the overthrow of the Kushānas by Shapur I between A.D. 241 and 251 (4). Computing in the reverse direction, Sir John Marshall has suggested A.D. 128 for the accession (5); and on other grounds also it may be affirmed with

⁴ *Journ. Asiatique* CCXXXIV (1943-45), 63 ff.; and *Bégram, recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans* (Cairo, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1946), pp. 99 ff.

⁵ *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1947, p. 32.

reasonable assurance that Kanishka came to the throne sometime during the second quarter of the 2nd century A.D. and was ruling an expanding kingdom in the middle of that century. Thus the earliest known representation of the Buddha may be ascribed to within a few years of A.D. 150.

This dating is important and it is worth while to pause for a moment to consider alternative postulates.

Of these the most important is the supposed representation of the Buddha on a coin of Maues (prior to c. 58 B.C.). Against Longworth Dames and Tarn, who believe that the Buddha is in fact intended on this coin, are ranged Bachhofer and Marshall who believe that both this and a similar coin of Azes (second half of 1st century B.C.) represent the ruler himself, squatting with a sword across his knee (6). At the best, the coin is far too uncertain a document wherewith to fill a vacuum of two centuries. An attempt has indeed been made to fill this vacuum by placing in it the celebrated casket (in the British Museum) which bears a figure of the Buddha and was found over a century ago in a stūpa at Bimārān in Afghanistan (7). This attempt, however, has been discounted by Tarn himself, and with much reason. True, the casket is said to have been associated with four copper coins of Azes (I or II ?); but anyone familiar with the miscellaneous character of stūpa-deposits will appreciate that these coins give, not a date, but a *terminus post quem*. For instance, a stūpa at Manikyālā near Rawalpindi contained seven Roman Republican denarii of the 1st century B.C. with Kushānā coins of the 2nd century A.D. (8).

Likewise to be rejected is the supposed evidence of 'dated' statues of the Buddha (9), since in no instance do we know the era intended in the epigraph. For example, the celebrated Loryān Tangāi Buddha in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, dated '318' of some unspecified era, has been ascribed variously to A.D. 6, 234 and 260, and is likely enough to be of none of these dates (10).

On the other side, we must equally reject the famous Peshāwar casket with its crowning Buddha, although it bears the name and portrait-figure of 'Kanishka', since its iconography suggests that a later Kanishka than the striker of the significant Buddha coins is intended (11). At present, these coins are unsupported, but their evidence at least is beyond reproach. Be it repeated that they establish the use of the Buddha image by c. A.D. 150, at a time when a great part of northern India and eastern Afghanistan was being unified under the strong rule of the first Kanishka.

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That the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism and the equivalent sects in north-western India, and of the remarkable art there evolved to express it, was due to the powerful patronage of this ambitious king is in itself sufficiently likely. The emergence of the Buddha as a divine figure, with all that this implied in the co-ordination and

⁶ L. Bachhofer, *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.*, LXI (1941), 229-30; J. Marshall, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1947, p. 14.

⁷ L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture* (New York, 1929), II, pl. 140; H. H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua* (London, 1841), p. 71; W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge, 1938), p. 399.

⁸ A. Cunningham, *Arch. Sur. Ind. Reports* II (Simla, 1871), 162.

⁹ 'There is nothing to be made out of dated Buddha statues'. Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

¹⁰ *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, II, pt. 1, p. 106; N. G. Majumdar, *Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, pt. II (Delhi, 1937), pp. 18 ff.

¹¹ Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Marshall, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1947, p. 31.

centralization of artistic composition, created a need which was essentially novel to India, but was traditional in the classical art of the West. Given the opportunity, it was not unnaturally in the West therefore that the artists of the Kushāṇa court found the new elements of design, and, with them, some of the actual modes and details which combined to inform their native art with an orderliness and rhythm appropriate to its new function. The resultant mingling of East and West yielded a composite art which can rarely be mistaken for a Western product but nearly always includes recognizably Western features; on the one hand the simulation of Western drapery, the use of Western cupids, swags and other ornament, the adaptation of Roman Imperial types and scenes to the Buddha legend (12); and on the other hand the smooth reflection of a passive introspection that is entirely of the East. The 'extrovert' West and the 'introvert' East are thus paradoxically but skilfully combined. The spiritual content of this art remains oriental, its formulae are frequently and sometimes startlingly occidental.

A few examples will sufficiently illustrate this duality. As the more remote and unexpected element of the two, the Western influence requires demonstration, and a few clear instances may be cited. PLATE I A represents the head of the Apollo Belvedere in the Vatican. PLATE I B is a small terracotta head from northwestern India in the Eric Dickinson collection (13). The identity of the two, not merely in facial feature but in the distinctive tufted coiffure, is self-evident. The Indian head is derived from that of the Apollo, with the characteristically oriental addition of the honorific garland (the *hāra*). Again, PLATE VIII A illustrates part of a stucco sculpture from the Buddhist site at Haḍḍa, Afghanistan; and the resemblance to the Hadrianic Antinous type (2nd century A.D.), represented for example by the well-known Villa Albani relief (14), is unmistakable. The fleshy, effeminate Antinous is at home in the oriental setting but is readily distinguished from the rendering of these traits in native Indian art, although the eastern *hāra* is again added. The stucco heads of the child and satyr, both from Taxila (PLATE III), are pure Graeco-Roman in type and quite un-Indian in inspiration; and the former at least suggests the actual handiwork of a Western artist or the use of a Western mould. The same remark might be offered in regard to the remarkably fine stucco head of a boy, also from Taxila (PLATE II B), which irresistibly recalls that of the young Marcus Aurelius (mid 2nd century A.D.) in the Capitoline Museum at Rome (PLATE II A). Also to the 2nd century (latter half) Dr Allan ascribes a remarkable Indian rendering in Gandhāra stone of the story of the Wooden Horse of Troy, reminiscent of the *tabulae Iliacae* of the early Imperial period in the West (15). Another stone frieze (PLATE V A)—one of many of its class—from Taxila likewise betrays oriental handiwork but is essentially Western in motif. And innumerable stucco heads of ethnological types from Haḍḍa and northwestern India (e.g. PLATE IV B), are difficult to consider apart from such Western renderings as that of the Gaul in the National Museum at Rome (PLATE IV A).

Examples could be multiplied, but these must suffice to demonstrate the use of Roman (Graeco-Roman) prototypes in the Buddhist figure-sculpture. Nor was this relationship confined to detail. The new Buddhist ideology of the Mahāyāna persuasion, with its insistence on the Presence, created, as has already been indicated, the need for a

¹² See, for examples, H. Buchtal, *The Western Aspects of Gandhāra Sculpture* (Brit. Academy, 1945); and *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1943, pp. 137 ff.

¹³ Here illustrated by kind permission of Mr Dickinson, who has generously allowed me to anticipate his own publication.

¹⁴ Eg. E. A. Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture* (London, 1905), p. 518, fig. 130.

¹⁵ J. Allan, 'A *tabula Iliaca* from Gandhāra', *Journ. of Hellenic Studies* LXVI (1946), 21 ff.

new centralized grouping for which the Buddhist art of the previous phase was not prepared. The result was the transcription of whole elements of composition from Roman Imperial art, in which the dominant personality of the emperor had created a similar problem. Christian art, developing in this respect along parallel lines, found an equivalent solution; and there can be no doubt that, as Buchtal has demonstrated (16), the ceremonial arrival or departure of the Emperor, represented, for example, on Roman medallions of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, is aesthetically a forebear of the departure of the Buddha from Kapilavāstu or the entry of Christ into Jerusalem. A similar kinship between East and West can be observed in the depiction of other incidents of the Buddha's life (17).

There is then, both in detail and in composition, a substantial link between the Buddhist art current on the northwestern border of India in the 2nd and following centuries A.D. and the art of the classical West. Dispute has arisen as to the labelling of that Western art: as to whether it should more properly be called 'Roman' or 'Hellenistic' (18). The dispute is an unreal one, and is linked up with old controversies long dead. 'Roman art' is generically the classical or semi-classical art of the world which was dominated by Rome; it varied specifically with varying local skills, temperaments and traditions; its main descent was from the art of the Hellenistic era, but to extend the term 'Hellenistic' into the Middle Empire is to confuse and impoverish our terminology. The Western art with which we are now concerned was a phase of the art of the Roman Empire. It was therefore *Roman* in any reasonable usage of the term, and the related Buddhist art may properly be called (as Vincent Smith long ago in fact called it (19)) *Romano-Buddhist* art.

In discussing this composite art, a Western writer is inevitably subject to the suspicion of an over-emphasis of the Western element. At the same time, the oriental critic is liable to be no less partisan in an opposite sense, and it is essential to preserve a proper balance between the two. There is in fact no need for controversy or for nationalist feeling in the matter: we need no more deny or resent the Western influence in Buddhist art than we need deny or resent the Oriental influence in a Paisley shawl. The fact remains and is of great interest, but need not be exaggerated. Having found initial expression with some help from a mature foreign art, Buddhism proceeded to develop its own aesthetic forms and to transmute its borrowings into its own language. The precise course of this development cannot yet be traced in detail, since the chronology of Romano-Buddhist art has not yet been established on an objective basis. But there are slight indications which are worthy of record.

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Before we consider these indications, there is another intrusive complication which we must remove from our path. Most of the examples of Romano-Buddhist art which I have cited are of stucco. On the other hand, although the existence of works in stucco was known from the first introduction of this art to the modern world, it was the allied stone sculpture that long commanded the prior attention of the critic. The

¹⁶ H. Buchtal, 'The Western Aspects of Gandhāra Sculpture', *Proc. Brit. Acad.* xxi (London, 1945).

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Marshall, *Guide to Taxila* (3rd ed., Delhi, 1936), p. 33; *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1946, pp. 116 ff.

¹⁹ *Journ. As. Soc. of Bengal*, 1889, p. 172.

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reason for this partiality is simple enough. In and around the Vale of Peshāwar, and particularly in the Swat valley, occurs a green schist which was extensively utilized by the Buddhist sculptors and has necessarily a far greater expectation of survival than the less durable stucco. Furthermore, it was precisely in this region—the ancient Gandhāra—that the British forces in India were concentrated for three generations, and it was inevitable that they should constitute a willing if uncritical agency for the transmission of these easily portable Westernizing works to the collections of India and Europe. The Art of Gandhāra, as it was called, thus became synonymous with the Romano-Buddhist schist sculptures of the Peshāwar region, and the term still tends to monopolize discussion of the subject.

But in the twenties of the present century our perspective began to alter. The excavations carried out by the Archaeological Survey of India at Taxila, on the border of the Punjab and the Northwest Frontier Province, and by the French Archaeological Mission to Afghanistan at Haḍḍa, near Jalālābād, a hundred miles from Peshāwar, revealed large quantities of stucco and some clay sculpture which had to be adjusted to the Gandhāra problem. At about the same time, Sir Aurel Stein was recording kindred stucco-work far away on the trans-Asiatic 'silk-routes' in Chinese Turkestan. Viewed in bulk, this stucco sculpture displayed, as its facile medium might lead us to expect, a somewhat greater range and vivacity than the Gandhāra stone sculpture. Stucco, again, by the use of moulds and the plasticity of its material, lent itself more readily than stone to mass-production, and probably had a more enduring vogue; whilst this same mass-production may in turn have been a contributory factor in the seeming preference of stucco-sculpture for isolated figures or restricted groups rather than for the elaborate *jātaka* and other scenes which the stone-sculptors of Gandhāra were fond of producing. On the other hand, in comparing the two it is necessary always to bear in mind the more fragmentary nature of the surviving evidence in respect of stucco.

What was the relationship of this widespread stucco-work to the more restricted Gandhāra stonework? Within the geographical limits of the latter, the two are found side by side, and a glance at two panels, one of stone and the other of stucco from Haḍḍa (PLATE V) is sufficient to demonstrate their close affinity. But can we go further, and claim them as facets of one and the same Romano-Buddhist art; or must we differentiate in some more significant sense between them? This question raises the vexed question of chronology in an acute form.

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As already indicated, objective evidence of chronology is hard to find. It has been remarked that the earliest certain usage of the Buddha image is no earlier than the 2nd century A.D. Prior to that date, attempts have been made to trace 'Gandhāra' art back to the first centuries B.C.—A.D., to alleged imports into Northwest India from the West and their derivatives under the Parthian régime. If there be in fact an element of truth in this theory, the examples cited in proof of it fail to prove it. They consist mostly of a series of crude works in stone, found at Taxila and ascribed, on grounds which have not been convincingly stated, to the period 30 B.C. to A.D. 40 (20). It was assuredly not from

²⁰ Marshall in *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1947, pp. 6 ff. In no case has any precise objective evidence been cited for this dating; the nearest hint is the statement in respect of one of the figures that 'on stylistic grounds, coupled with the place of finding, this piece may be assigned to the second quarter of the first century A.D.' Of another all that we know is that 'the treatment

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these uncouth monstrosities that the semi-classical forms of the evolved Gandhāra school emerged. And by the same token we are prevented from attributing the upgrowth of the school to a local resurgence of classical elements handed down from the old Indo-Greek régime of the Northwest; for the decadence of the sub-Greek coinage after the fall of the Bactrian kingdom c. 130 B.C. is eloquent testimony to the lapse of Western artistry in Northwest India and Afghanistan after that date, long before the emergence of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The most that can be urged is that some faint surviving memory of this Graeco-Bactrian art may have prepared the way for the re-introduction of Western classical motifs when the new Buddhism created an appropriate demand.

For the creation of Romano-Buddhist art, then, neither Parthian innovation nor a remote Bactrian tradition can be held primarily responsible, on the evidence at present available. To a possible alternative I shall return later in the present paper.

If, however, the initial date of this art, whether in stone or in stucco, must remain in suspense, the excavations carried out during twenty years by Sir John Marshall at Taxila would appear to provide one important fixed point in the subsequent history at least of the stucco medium. Marshall found uniform evidence that the Buddhist monasteries within the environs of Taxila were 'wantonly and ruthlessly devastated' in the course of the 5th century, and ascribed the circumstance to the invasions of the barbarian White Huns or Ephthalites (21). If this broadly based and very probable view be accepted, we may ascribe the destruction of the Taxila monuments to the years following A.D. 455, the date of the accession of Skandagupta whose Bhitari (Ghāzipur) inscription contains the first reference to a war with the Hūnas. The actual destruction may have occurred then or a little later, in the time of the (probably Hūna) king Mihirakula, who ruled from Sākala (Sialkot) at the beginning of the 6th century and is credited by the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang with the demolition of 1,600 stūpas and monasteries and the slaughter of 900,000 lay adherents of Buddhism. When the Chinese ambassador Sung-Yung passed through Gandhāra in 520, he noted that 'this

continued from previous page

of the falling dhoti folds reminds one of the acanthus leaf decoration in the small early stūpa in Block E of Sirkap, dating from the 1st century B.C.'—surely a difficult and tenuous comparison on which to found chronology! Of yet another we are told that 'the early date of this piece is indicated by the sketchy treatment of the drapery and the clumsy unsteady chiselling'. The general impression conveyed is that the *style* of these crude works is the main basis of their dating. But, since the essential problem is just that of the chronology of the style, the argument is circular and gets us no further forward along our road.

More important is the unquestionable fact that these selected sculptures have in any case little or nothing to do with Gandhāra and do not as a group contain even the germ of that art. One is a purely oriental figurine with no hint of the Gandhāra style; another is an oriental type with mechanical drapery of a rudimentary kind which only the most determined theorist could link significantly with the West; others, with the partial exception of a decayed 'Demeter' or Hārītī, have scarcely any sort of stylistic value. To affirm, with Marshall, that these poor relics leave us 'in no doubt that the Gandhāra school had begun to shape in the latter part of the 1st century B.C.' is surely mere wishfulness. Their miserable quality indeed induced Marshall himself to infer that 'we must allow some decades at least after the eclipse of Greek rule in Gandhāra for the practice of Greek art to have been largely forgotten' by the authors of these works; and to add: 'We are thus forced to the conclusion that the School of Gandhāra was not the immediate offspring of Greek art in India, but that it arose during the Saka period, when Greek art was becoming increasingly decadent'. The logical further step is to admit that most of these 'early' works at Taxila have in fact no significant connexion with Greek art, decadent or otherwise.

²¹ *Guide to Taxila* (3rd ed.), p. 20.

is the country which the Yethas (Ephthalites) destroyed' (22), and we may therefore give 455-520 as the historical brackets for the destruction. We may fairly assume that the sculptures, found *in situ* amongst the Taxila monasteries were extant about the middle of the 5th century and are unlikely to be of later date.

One of these sculptures, a small stucco Buddha still in position in the Jauliān monastery, is illustrated in PLATE VI B. It represents that art stylistically in its mass-produced decadence. The impassive countenance of the Master is surmounted by hair treated in the most summary manner, the waves being indicated in what may be called the 'ladder mode' (compare plate VI A); that is, by straight lines extending from the sacred knop to the brow with curved cross-grooves like the ratlines on a ship's shrouds. Typologically, this might on general grounds be thought to represent the final stage of devolution from the serried masses of freely-rendered curls which we find in the better examples of the style; but theoretical typology is a dangerous argument, and typological arrangements of Buddhist art such as that, for example, attempted by Masson Oursel (23) are sheer waste of time. The Jauliān figure, however, displays a feature of relevant interest in a more positive sense. As the illustration (PLATE VII A) indicates, beneath the damaged ear and jaw can be seen the ear of an earlier rendering which was subsequently covered by the existing features. Here, therefore, is a stratigraphical, objective sequence, which could, however, be rendered significant only by the further destruction of the final covering. So undesirable a procedure was rendered less necessary by a search which revealed to me a parallel example in Patna (Bihar) Museum (PLATE VII B). This stucco head, found at Sahr-i-Bahlol (Northwest Frontier Province), had similarly been refaced anciently and is sufficiently damaged to show the sequence in detail. Under the typical 'ladder mode' hair of the later phase are the relatively free curls of the original work; and the stylistic succession is thus now established beyond all doubt, the more freely rendered hair being prior to the 5th century A.D., when, if not earlier, it was superseded by the 'ladder mode'.

How long after that century this stucco sculpture continued to be produced in its Indo-Afghan homeland cannot at present be said. If we accept the dating of the violent destruction of the Taxila monasteries to the latter half of the 5th century, we must be chary of applying this datum elsewhere. At the key-site of Haḍḍa in Afghanistan, the excavator was careful to note indications of *gradual* decay: the broken stucco-statuary had bowed its head down as upon a bed, or rather upon a succession of beds formed by the gradually rising debris around the dissolving walls (24). The whole establishment appears to have gone into a gentle decline, not at all suggestive of the ferocity of Mihirakula and his Huns. Nevertheless, here too, if less dramatically, destruction and abandonment occurred between the visit of Fa-hien, who found 1,000 stūpas hereabouts in A.D. 400, and Hiuen Tsang who found desolation in A.D. 630.

The lesson of Haḍḍa and Taxila is that destruction came to the Buddhist monasteries of the region in various ways, sometimes more and sometimes less suddenly. It is obvious that a slowly-decaying site cannot provide us with a fixed terminal point; and that the evidence of Taxila cannot be applied in detail to Haḍḍa, where renovation and innovation, on however reduced a scale, may have proceeded for a century after Taxila had been put to fire and the sword. Nor is this all. There is evidence that the century of hostile Hūṇa domination failed to extinguish Buddhism finally in and about Gandhāra. True,

²² S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (London, 1906), I, xcix.

²³ P. Masson Oursel and others, *Ancient India and Indian Civilization* (London, 1934), pl. vii.

²⁴ J. J. Barthoux, *Les Fouilles de Haḍḍa* (Mém. de la Délég. Arch. Française en Afghanistan), III (1930), 64.

at Taxila itself, no indication of a post-Hūna revival has been recorded; but at Hadda, in stūpa no. 10, were found Sasanian coins indicating that the structure was erected or at least in use about A.D. 600. Again, the coins found by Sir Alexander Cunningham in a stūpa at Baoti Pind in the Rawalpindi district included 'a gold coin of about A.D. 500 or 600'; whilst Ventura found a coin of Yašovarman of Kanauj, c. A.D. 725-30, in one of the Manikyāla stūpas (25). It is evident that Buddhism survived or revived sporadically in the northwest during the centuries which intervened between the Hun and the Muslim invasions. In other words, until we know a great deal more than we know at present about the later developments of art and architecture in the region of Gandhāra, we must be chary of generalizing from a single peripheral site of limited duration such as Taxila.

With this proviso, the chronological evidence for Romano-Buddhist art may be summarized as follows. First, this art is the expression of the evolved Buddhism which took shape in the 2nd century A.D. and is associated with the Mahāyāna observance. Secondly, it is focussed on the figure of the Buddha, of which, consistently enough, there is no indubitable example prior to that century. Thirdly, resemblances between individual clay or stucco sculptures and academic Western products of the 2nd century (the Hadrianic Antinous type from Hadda, the young Marcus Aurelius type from Taxila, probably the *tabula Iliaca*, and we may perhaps include the Apollo Belvedere type from the Northwest Frontier (26)) fit into the same picture. Fourthly, the subsequent process of devolution and decay had already reached its ultimate stage by the middle of the 5th century, and a logical process of stylistic deterioration is objectively demonstrated by the palimpsest head from Sahr-i-Bahlol. The clay and stucco sculpture of the Indo-Afghan region would thus appear to fall mainly within the 2nd-5th centuries A.D., without prejudice to some measure of survival after the 5th century. Further afield, along the Central Asian tracks, the art probably lingered on for some centuries afterwards, but precise evidence is lacking (27).

* * * * *

It will have been observed that the stone sculpture to which the term Gandhāra is conventionally restricted has failed to contribute any objective chronological evidence. It occurs at Hadda, near the edge of the schist area, but not in any notable quantity. It appears to have been absent from the latest phase of the mass-produced equipment of the Taxila monasteries, though fragments occasionally occurred amongst their (earlier?) débris. Lack of evidence in general reflects lack of controlled research. Seen in proper perspective, the stone sculpture is but a local phase of Romano-Buddhist sculpture, more restricted in space and probably more restricted in time than the stucco counterpart but essentially integral with it. Attempts to separate the stone and the stucco sculptures chronologically and even culturally are unbiased (28).

²⁵ *Arch. Sur. India Reports* II (1871), 141 and 159-60.

²⁶ The date of the original of the Apollo Belvedere, best represented by the Roman marble copy in the Vatican, is unknown, but its smooth academic quality may be supposed at least to have retained its popularity into the academic revival of the Middle Empire, to which the copy probably belongs.

²⁷ See, e.g., Aurel Stein, *Serindia* (Oxford, 1921), I, 485 ff. (Miran); III, 1183 ff. (Ming-oi); *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan* (London, 1903), pp. 459 ff., etc. Also, J. Strzygowski, 'Die Stuckbildnerei Irans', *Belvedere*, Hegt 9 (Berlin, 1934).

²⁸ See Postscript, p. 17.

The question now arises, how did these Western elements reach the Indo-Afghan region in or about the 2nd century A.D.? We have rejected the claims of legendary Balkh, Mother of Cities, set at the nodal point where trade and Buddhism from India turned eastwards to China; Balkh where for a century after 250 B.C. Greeks and semi-Greeks maintained some vestige of the Alexandrine tradition; whence that same fading tradition was carried to Northwest India in the form of Indo-Greek dominion which lasted until the first century B.C. We have likewise rejected the Scythians and Parthians in whom this tradition merged; for those folk, however philhellenic, have yielded no evidence of artistic attainment approaching or anticipating the standards of Romano-Buddhist art. Nothing that we know of the Parthians as artists or connoisseurs would lead us to regard them as its parents, or even as its foster-parents. Nor, in the period postulated by Marshall as the formative period of this art (above, p. 9, note 20), can we regard the Parthians as significant carriers of Western *objets-d'art* such as might have stimulated the upgrowth of a local semi-Western school in India or Afghanistan. In the time of the Julii and the Claudii (end of 1st century B.C.—third quarter of 1st century A.D.), the route through the Persian Gulf, to say nothing of routes overland, was rendered uneconomically dangerous by Romano-Parthian antagonism and by insecurity within the Parthian state (29). Parthia does not contribute to the solution of our problem.

If Bactria and Parthia fail to meet our needs, we are left with one main possibility: that of maritime traffic with the classical world primarily via the Red Sea and Alexandria, supplemented in the 2nd century from Palmyra via the Persian Gulf. So far as northern India was concerned, this maritime trade debouched upon the Indus valley and the Gujarat coast. There, in the time of the *Periplus*, the middlemen were Scythians or Sakas, with a metropolis at the head of the Indus delta; but the Scythian kingdom with its trade was absorbed by the Kushāna invaders probably in the time of Kadphises II, about the beginning of the 2nd century A.D.

The Indus-Gujarat trade at this time was of no mean order. The *Periplus* (§ 39) names amongst the imports figured linens, topaz, coral, frankincense, glass vessels, silver and gold plate, and wine; amongst the exports turquoise, lapis lazuli, Seric skins, cotton cloth, silk yarn and indigo. The lapis lazuli must have come from northeastern Afghanistan down the trade-route through the Hindu-Kush, the Peshāwar plain and the Indus valley. The 'Seric skins' presumably followed the same route, as did some of the silk (§ 64), although, as later (30), some silk was already exported from China to the Ganges and the Coromandel and Malābār coasts by a more or less continuous succession of sea-routes. The balance of the evidence is that the bulk of the eastern Asiatic trade

²⁹ For a short time after the settlement of the Armenian question by Nero, relations between Rome and Parthia improved, but the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, compiled probably sometime between A.D. 60 and 110 (for the later dating see J. A. B. Palmer, 'Periplus Maris Erythraei: the Indian evidence as to date', *The Classical Quarterly* xli, 1947, pp. 137 ff.) indicates only a restricted trade in the Persian Gulf. The land routes through Parthia seem never to have been secure for any lengthy period. A pioneer effort such as that of Maes Titianus during the pacific reign of Hadrian shows how little was then known by Western merchants about these routes. On the other hand, after the 1st century trade flowed intermittently along the flanks of the Parthian kingdom and there is evidence for an appreciable traffic between Syria and the East via Charax and the Persian Gulf in the Antonine period (see in particular the epigraphs from the Palmyra agora published by H. Seyrig, 'Antiquités Syriennes', *Syria* 1941, pp. 258 ff.). It is relevant to note in this connexion, with Rostovtzeff, the Palmyrene character of the jewellery reproduced in Gandhāra art—see *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* vii (Paris, 1931-2), 209.

³⁰ F. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient* (Leipzig and Munich, 1885), pp. 173 ff.

with the Mediterranean lands, whether it started out along the silk-routes of the interior or from Chinese ports, converged upon the western coast of India and avoided transit through the Parthian hinterland. A direct result of this procedure was to give a special importance to the branch-route which led southwards from the Oxus plain along the eastern borders of Parthia through the Hindu-Kush and the Indus valley, into and through the Kushāṇa kingdom.

Happily, we have something more than a literary record of this trade. In 1937 and 1939, in the midst of the ancient Kapiśā at a distance of some fifty miles north of Kābul, the French Archaeological Mission found a now-famous (though still incompletely published) hoard carefully packed into two rooms, one of which if not both was walled up, in an ancient building at Bēgrām (31). Whether the hoard was originally assembled at Bēgrām or was transferred thither from another or other Kushāṇa sites does not affect the main issue. The hoard, one of the most remarkable ever discovered in Asia, comprised a great quantity of elaborate glassware from the Mediterranean, bronzes including statuettes of Herakles-Serapis (PLATE VIII B) and Harpocrates from the same source, and plaster medallions or *emblemata* (PLATE IX A-B) (32) also of classical origin, a superb collection of ivory carvings from India, and remains of lacquer-work from China. Henri Seyrig and I have independently suggested an Alexandrian origin for some at least of the glass (33), and the Herakles-Serapis, the Harpocrates and the plaster-work are consistent with this attribution, although Syria may also have contributed. In any case, sea-transport may fairly be assumed. In date, the glassware ranges from the end of the 1st to the 3rd century A.D. : and its quality, with that of the associated objects, suggests the likelihood that the collection was a royal one, hidden and forgotten in the chaos of the 3rd century, possibly, as Ghirshman proposes, at the time of the overthrow of the Kushāṇa empire by Shapur I about the middle of the century.

Here, then, from two small rooms on the Kābul plateau, is a visual monument of active trade between this primary Romano-Buddhist region and the West, particularly Alexandria (34), precisely at the period of the efflorescence of Romano-Buddhist art. And we must remember that this evidence is the product of a relatively small excavation in an almost unexplored countryside ; what other witnesses await us we cannot guess.

³¹ The hoard is now distributed between the Kābul Museum and the Musée Guimet in Paris. For the portion found in 1937, see J. Hackin, *Recherches archéologiques à Bégram* (Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, IX, Paris, 1939) ; and R. Ghirshman, 'Fouilles de Bégram', *Journal Asiatique* CCXXXIV (Paris, 1947) 59 ff., and *Bégram* (Cairo : Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1946).

³² These medallions were doubtless intended as models for metalwork, e.g. the escutcheons or *emblemata* on the inner base of silver bowls. Such models are characteristic of the metal industry of Ptolemaic and Imperial Egypt (Alexandria, Memphis). See T. Schreiber, *Die Alexandrische Toreutik* (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 470 ff. ; A. Adriani, *Le gobelet en argent* (Soc. Roy. d'Arch. d'Alexandrie, 1939), pp. 12, 26, 33 ; and O. Rubensohn, *Hellenistisches Silbergerät in antiken Gipsabgüssen* (Berlin, 1911), *passim*. Outside Egypt, but within the sphere of Alexandrian influence, similar medallions and moulds occur at Sabratha in Tripolitania (museums at Sabratha and Tripoli)—see pl. IXc.

³³ *Syria* XXII (1941), 262.

³⁴ It is appropriate to recall Rostovtzeff : 'The wares exported from the Roman Empire to the East . . . were chiefly products of Alexandrian industry. The active agents in the exchange of goods between the Roman Empire and India and China were the Alexandrian merchants. Without them the commerce with India would probably not have existed'. *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1926), p. 147 ; cf. p. 259.

But the pointers to Alexandria already suggest a line of research which does not appear to have been attempted in this context. For Alexandria was, *par excellence*, the home of stucco sculpture in the West. There in the time of the Ptolemies, in and after the 3rd century B.C., Hellenization inculcated, amongst other things, a taste for marble sculpture in the Greek tradition. Unfortunately, good white native marble is not available in or near the Egyptian delta. On the other hand, along the coast to the west of Alexandria a rich bed of gypsum shines like sunlit snow against the dark ultramarine of the Mediterranean. Here, in unlimited quantity, was a ready-made substitute for marble; and from the Ptolemaic period onwards (35) this marble-substitute, in the form of plaster or stucco, was used freely by the sculptors of Lower Egypt (notably Alexandria) both for statuary and for the metalwork-models such as we have seen at Bēgrām. Sometimes a statue might aspire to a marble face made up with an otherwise stucco head. Sometimes the sculpture would be wholly of limestone save for a veneer of stucco to simulate marble. Sometimes the whole work would be of stucco (36). Examples can be seen in the museums of Cairo, Alexandria and (at least formerly) Berlin. Be it repeated, Alexandria would appear to have been the main creative centre of this stucco art; thence the technique—and doubtless in some cases the actual moulds—spread westwards to Sabratha in Tripolitania, where there are many examples in the museum and storerooms, and as far as Sousse in Tunisia (37). It occurs in moderation on the Italian mainland (38). And, through the medium of moulds or migrant Western craftsmen or both, it found its way far to the eastwards with the trade which, as we have seen (p. 13), debouched upon the Indian coast at the mouth of the Indus or in Gujarat.

However intermittently, we can follow its further travels fairly clearly. In the lower Indus valley itself, traces of it have been found in the Buddhist monastery which caps the famous prehistoric citadel of Mohenjo-daro (39). Thence there is a dearth of modern exploration until we reach the vicinity of the middle Indus and the fruitful monasteries of much-explored Taxila. At this site also, Roman glass of the 1st century A.D., a small bronze Harpocrates like that from Bēgrām, a Mediterranean amphora, and gem-intaglios and other objects represent a Western trade which doubtless wholly or mainly followed the same route. Across the Indus towards the northwest, the arterial trade-route from the Indian plains bore the art to the Vale of Peshāwar, across the Khyber

³⁵ Stucco sculpture occurs but rarely in Egypt before the Ptolemaic period, though it is occasionally found as early as the 18th Dynasty.

³⁶ See generally, O. Rubensohn, *op. cit.*; also F. von Bissing in *Arch. Anzeiger* 1901, p. 205; E. Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciutbi (Cat. gén. des antiquités égyptiennes, musée d'Alexandrie, 1912)* I, 156, etc.; II, pls. LXXV, LXXXI; C. C. Edgar, *Cat. gén. des antiquités du musée du Caire, Greek Sculpture*, 1903, pp. 21, 69, 71. Outside the Nile Delta, stucco sculpture occurs sporadically in the Mediterranean area, but Egypt (Alexandria, Memphis) was undoubtedly the centre. The application of stucco ornament to Kertch sarcophagi (C. Watzinger, *Griechische Holzsarkophage aus der Zeit Alexanders des Grössen*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 53) is not comparable; nor, save in the vaguest way, is the occasional preparation of (plaster?) casts of Greek sculpture perhaps as early as the end of the 4th century B.C., see S. Reinach in *Revue Archéologique*, 3rd S., XLI (1902) 5 ff. Stucco was widely used in Islamic Iran and occurs as early as the Sasanian period at Ctesiphon and in Syria (Riefstahl, as cited in note 38); but here again no causative connexion with our Romano-Buddhist art can be postulated from the evidence available.

³⁷ *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1907, p. 168.

³⁸ R. M. Riefstahl in *The Art Bulletin* XIII (Chicago, 1931), pp. 457–8; and a good example in the *insula del Serapide* in the nuovi scavi at Ostia.

³⁹ J. Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization* (London, 1931), I, 117.

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pass to Haḍḍa (Jalālābād), and through the Hindu Kush to Kunduz on the steppe of Afghan Turkestan, where a buried monastery has yielded to more or less casual digging a number of stucco sculptures (Kābul and Mazar-i-Sharif museums). At that point, the great trans-Asiatic 'silk route' is reached and, turning its back on exclusive Parthia, the art veered eastwards with Buddhism into Central Asia where, increasingly under Chinese influence, it yet carried something of the Western idiom into remote tracts of Chinese Turkestan, visited only by Aurel Stein and a few other venturesome explorers (FIG. 1).

* * * * *

Tunisia to the Tarim Basin—what a range for the dispersal of the elements of a specialized art and idiom! To illustrate in summary a part of this phenomenon, three stucco heads are reproduced here for comparison (PLATE X). All three heads display the same essential features: the heavy impassive face, the drooping eyelids, the 'ladder mode' hair (or a near approach to it), surmounted by a twisted scarf. Yet one of them, the woman's head, was found at the Roman city of Sabratha in Tripolitania and is now in the site-museum there; the other two are characteristically effeminate Bodhisattvas from the Jauliān monastery at Taxila in the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan, and from Haḍḍa in Afghanistan! There can be no doubt as to the essential and significant affinity between the three.

The problem thus begins to assume a revealing shape: the development of stucco sculpture at and from Alexandria in response to local needs and resources; the strong commercial link, vouched for by literature and now by archaeology, between Alexandria and India; the development in northwest India (Pakistan) in the 2nd century A.D. of a Buddhism with new observances and canons which demanded a new imagery such as had already been evolved in the West; and the mobility and adaptability of so easy and expressive a medium as stucco—there we have some at least of the necessary components for a historical solution of the problem of Romano-Buddhist art.

* * * * *

But it would be less than justice to Romano-Buddhist art to end on this note. The foreign elements in that art are obvious, and have both a historic and an æsthetic interest. Equally interesting in both senses, is their adaptation and transmutation by the indigenous artist in conformity with an indigenous ideology and an indigenous artistic tradition. The instances where the actual presence of a Western artist or the use of Western moulds may be suspected are very few. Normally, the hand of the Indian or Afghan adapter is unmistakable, and the later mass-produced works, such as those of the Taxila monasteries and others at Ming-oi and Miran in Central Asia are in full measure the products of native workshops or of mobile schools of Buddhist craftsmen. The apparently increasing formality which characterizes the art has indeed a certain analogy with the increasing formalism of late classical and early Byzantine art in the west. In Asia and Europe alike, the growing spirit of introspection and abstraction was producing a somewhat comparable æsthetic pattern. But that does not imply any close continued liaison between East and West. Men's minds were moving of their own volition in a similar direction, though down separate paths, throughout the civilized Eurasian world. The art of Buddhism now began in part to petrify in the terms of lifeless formulae, in part to find a new life in the service of a resurgent Brāhmaṇism. But that is not our concern in the present paper.

ROMANO-BUDDHIST ART: AN OLD PROBLEM RESTATED

It remains to add that, so far as we know, the stucco art discussed above was a monopoly of the Buddhist community. There is no clear evidence that it had any secular or non-Buddhist counterpart in Northwest India or Afghanistan.

POSTSCRIPT

For half a century after Dr Leitner's demonstration of Romano-Buddhist art, mainly in the form of stone sculptures from the Peshāwar district (the ancient Gandhāra), the term 'Gandhāra' or 'Graeco-Buddhist' was conventionally applied to it. During the last twenty-five years, however, great quantities of stucco and clay sculpture in a comparable style but with a greater range of expression and skill have, as we have seen, widened the problem aesthetically and geographically; and they have induced certain writers, notably Sir John Marshall, to lend them the status of a separate school. This view has received considerable publicity, and I therefore summarize it as nearly as possible in Marshall's own words (40).

The Gandhāra school, Marshall affirms, was in its infancy in the earlier part of the 1st century A.D. It reached its zenith in the 2nd century under Kanishka and Huvishka; declined somewhat in the reign of Vasudeva and came to an end, soon after his death, with the eclipse of the Kushāna empire by the Sasanids, c. A.D. 240. The date of the school, therefore, falls into the first two and a half centuries of the Christian era. With the exception of a handful of sadly damaged stucco figures, all the products of this prolific school that have survived are sculptures of stone.

For the next 140 years, according to Sir John, i.e. from A.D. 250 to 390, art seems to have been 'all but non-existent in the northwest'. It was not until the last quarter of the 4th century that the advent of the Kidāra or Little Kushāns from Bactria re-established conditions in which Buddhist art could again flourish. A new school then came into being, which is now generally designated the 'Indo-Afghan' school. (If we must have this, I would interpolate my preference for the more precise term 'Hadda' school, from the name of the site which has produced most work of the highest uniform quality). This later school survived until the third quarter of the 5th century, when the White Huns swept down through the northwest, destroying every Buddhist monument in their path. Like the Gandhāra school before it, this Indo-Afghan or Hadda school was born of the soil of the northwest, and naturally inherited much from its predecessor, the Gandhāra school. But there were radical differences between them. Whereas the earlier sculptors had employed stone as their principal medium, the later employed clay and stucco, and thanks to the plasticity of these materials they attained a command of form and a vitality of expression which are lacking in the more academic work of the 'older' school.

Sir John goes on to remark the absence from the 'later' school of the *jātakas* and histories which occur in the 'earlier'; and the more limited distribution of the 'earlier' which is 'confined to the Peshāwar Valley and the adjacent country west of the Indus', whilst 'its successor flourished over a much larger area, including part of the Punjab east of the Indus'.

I have been at pains to reproduce at some length the views of the excavator of Taxila because they represent at the same time the most precise and presumably the most widely founded classification of Romano-Buddhist art yet attempted. If in important respects I find it unacceptable, I must repeat the warning that the details of the Taxila evidence remain unpublished. I find it difficult to believe, however, that Sir John has up his sleeve sufficient objective information to support a view which only overwhelming evidence of a most detailed and exacting kind could substantiate.

Let us for a moment consider the generalities of that view. First, it crowds quite impossibly into little more than half a century (c. A.D. 390-455) an immense output of clay and stucco sculpture of very widely varying character and quality (compare our pls. IIB and VIA). Secondly, for this stucco renaissance it chooses a date of peculiar difficulty. 'It was not until the last quarter of the 4th century', declares Marshall, 'that the advent of the Kidāra Kushāns from Bactria put an end to Sasanid domination in the northwest, and, by restoring the political and cultural unity of the

⁴⁰ *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1946, p. 119; *ib.*, 1947, pp. 16 ff.; also *Guide to Taxila* (3rd ed.), pp. 32 ff.

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country east and west of the Indus over which they ruled, re-established conditions in which Buddhist art could again flourish. A new school then came into being, which is now generally designated the Indo-Afghan school', etc. But this reading of the admittedly obscure history of the period would be hard to substantiate. It would appear that in the middle of the 4th century the Kidāra or Little Kushāns ruled from Peshāwar as feudatories of the Sasanian king, whose writ ran as far eastward as the Indus valley. Twice, perhaps *c.* 355 and 368, the Kidāras threw off the Sasanian yoke but on both occasions they were brought back to a state of restless dependency. Attempts at aggrandisement towards the east seem to have secured no more lasting gain from the Gupta empire (41). Indeed, between the scissor-blades of the Sasanians and the Guptas, the ambitions of the Kidāras were foredoomed to frustration. One may search in vain in their history for any context for an artistic resurgence of the highly sophisticated and exotic type implied in the 'Indo-Afghan' school of sculpture at its prime.

Thirdly, Marshall assumes between stone and stucco a hiatus of 140 years after which, from no known source and under no known stimulus, the Western idiom suddenly reappears in at least as emphatic a form as in the 'Gandhāra' phase preceding the hiatus. And in any case, after notorious warnings in other ages and places, it is a bold man who will to-day postulate any such hiatus in the development of a culture which is otherwise integrated by so marked a community of inspiration.

Fourthly, there is no authority whatsoever for the *ex cathedra* statement that Gandhāra stone sculpture ended *c.* A.D. 240 or 250. Fifthly, the Taxila evidence cited (up to date) for the emergence of Gandhāra art in the first centuries B.C.-A.D. is entirely unconvincing. Sixthly the geographical factor is quite inadequately stated and considered.

On all these grounds I find Marshall's classification and chronology unacceptable.

⁴¹ For a recent summary of the history of the period, see R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar, *A New History of the Indian People* vi (Lahore, 1946), 21 ff.

ROMANO-BUDDHIST ART: AN OLD PROBLEM RESTATED

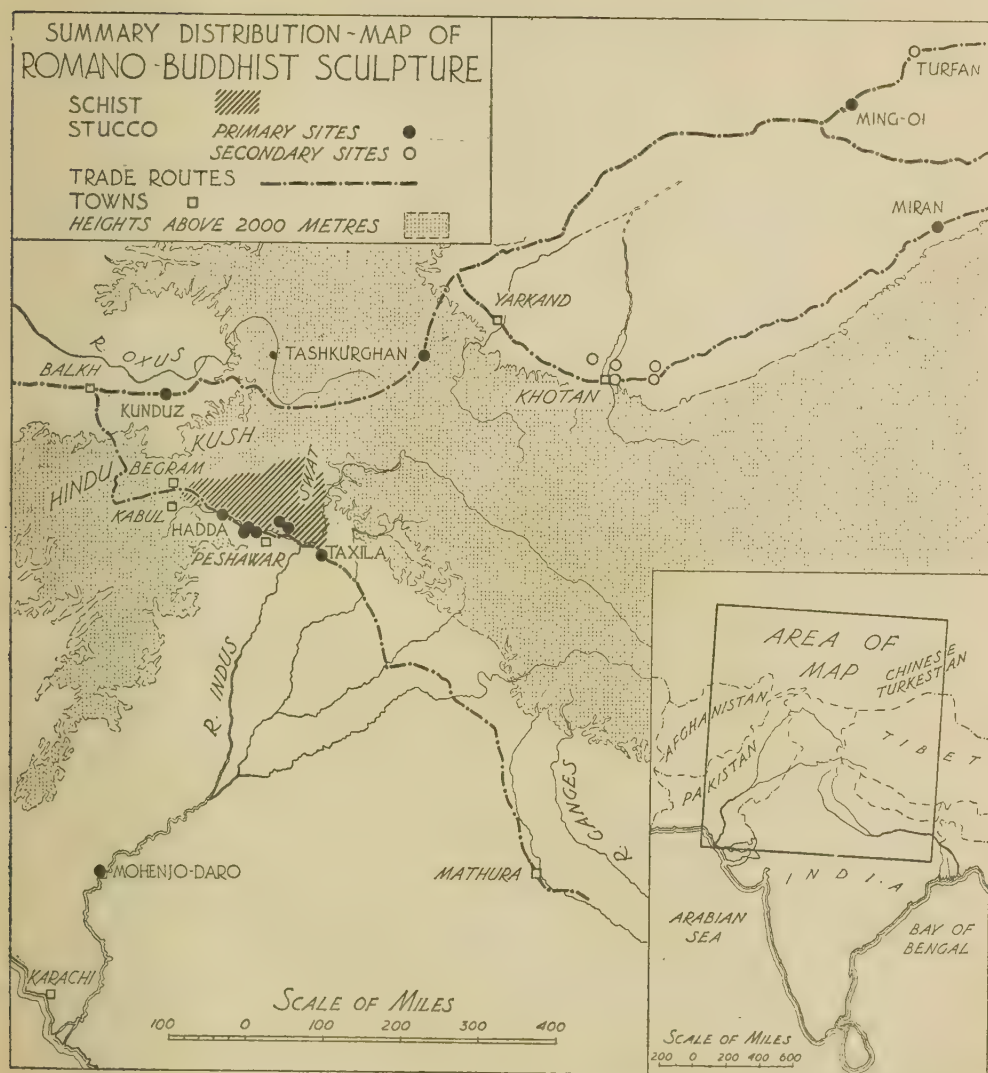


FIG. 1

The Dumb and the Stammerers in Early Irish History

by HUBERT BUTLER

PRIMITIVE peoples judge other races strictly by the yardstick of their own virtues and capacities. Those, who do not conform to their customs, are mad or stupid. Those, who cannot communicate with them, are dumb or have an impediment in their speech. If they are obliged to admit that the foreigner with all his defects can do certain things remarkably well, they are more likely to ascribe this to magic than to superior but distinctive capacities. When the newcomers are, like the Spaniards in the New World, the Europeans in the Pacific, so dazzlingly accomplished that it is hard to disparage them, the natives welcome them as supernatural beings more readily than as a more developed race of men. They will change their gods more willingly than their good opinion of themselves as the norm of humanity. The Greek word for people whom they could not understand was *βάρβαροι* or 'stammerers', the Russian word for the Teutons, with whom communication was difficult, was 'nyemets' or 'dumb'. A variant of this word was used by all the other Slavonic peoples. Many less familiar instances of this practice could be collected. These names were retained for centuries after the idea that mankind was divided into many races equally but differently equipped had become familiar.

Ireland has seen many invasions. To take the most recent and widely discussed classification of them, T. F. O'Rahilly suggests that the invaders, after prehistoric times, came successively in the following waves. First Cruthin, second Erainn, third Lagin, fourth Goidels. Of these the first three were P-Celts, the last only, Q-Celts. It would be natural, therefore, to look for evidence of difficulty of communication between the several population groups. Yet the traces have been obscured not merely by time but by a deliberate policy. The chroniclers and genealogists of the Irish people made many elaborate attempts to efface the memory of racial friction. When the Goidels, who, if we follow O'Rahilly, were the last comers, had asserted their supremacy over the other races in Ireland, their *literati* furnished all these others with Goidelic pedigrees. In this way the Goidels, besides conciliating their neighbours, who were often also their maternal kinsmen, were able to persuade themselves that they had lived in Ireland from the most remote periods and were in no sense *parvenu* conquerors. Legends and stories, in which differences of language were implied, would be given a twist that made them meaningless or suggestive of something different. Often our attention is arrested by stories of people, who were wrongly called 'dumb' or who were cured of dumbness by a miracle. Probably not only the Goidels but also the Lagin and their other predecessors covered their traces in this way, so that it is not easy to say by whom the taunt of dumbness was flung at any particular tribe or who later explained it away in the interests of harmony. All we can do is to collect these legends of language-trouble on a loose strand of conjecture and leave it to the philologist and the folk-lore student to order them correctly.

The greater part of the legends which I shall examine refer to the southeast of Ireland and particularly to Ossory, a region, which corresponds roughly to the modern county of Kilkenny, enlarged to the north by several baronies in Leix and Offaly; but

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O'Rahilly, seeking for traces of the language of the Belgic Erainn, which he equates with 'Iarnbéile', (1) relates a legend from another quarter of Ireland, which is worth recalling, because it follows a pattern, which is many times reproduced in many regions. There are two different versions of this story of the first Goidelic landing in southwest Ireland. In the earliest (2), Eogan, when he landed, found the natives speaking a different speech or dialect to his own. In the later (3) version this tradition is purged of the disagreeable implication that he was a foreigner. Eogan does not invade. He is an Irishman returning to Ireland. It is not stated that the Munster chieftains, Conaire and Maicnia, whose forces were ranged against him at Carnbuidhe near Kenmare, speak a different language. It is merely said that the first messenger gets ignored, the second one at last makes himself understood by Maicnia. It is not necessary to say that the Munstermen were dumb, they were merely preoccupied or obtuse.

The legend of Maon or Labraid Loingsech's invasion, though it refers to an earlier period, was probably shaped under the same influences and along similar lines. O'Rahilly believes it to be the record of the Lagenian invasion (4) and Labraid, who is only imperfectly distinguishable from his grandfather, Laoghaire Lorc, he supposes the ancestor deity of the Lagen euhemerised by the historians into a warrior-king. Labraid means 'the speaker'. Maon means 'dumb'. Lorc is glossed 'balb', i.e. 'dumb', in the Lecan and Stowe glossaries.

Ridgeway, before O'Rahilly, marked the importance of this story. Here is a band of invaders from Gaul landing in Wexford and bearing a new weapon, the 'láigen' or spear from which Leinster was, perhaps fancifully, said to derive its name (5). The historians, harmonizing, make Maon related dynastically to Cobhthach, the king of the Erainn of South Leinster, whom he overthrows. He was not, it is implied, any more than Tuathal Techtmar or Eogan, an invader; he was a native returning to throw out those who had usurped his throne. Did his race bring a new speech or dialect together with a new weapon? I think it arguable that they did and that his various contradictory names are evidence of a certain embarrassment about acknowledging this fact. The legends betray a similar confusion of purpose.

For example (6), a druid, who was in the fortress of Dionn Riogh near Leighlinbridge, where Cobhthach was slaughtered, enquired who was the murderer. 'The Seafarer', replied a man outside. 'Does the Seafarer speak?' enquired the druid. 'He speaks', ('Labraid'), replied the other. Hence the name, Labraid Loingsech, clung to Maon ever since. This anecdote is quite pointless except to refute the implications of Labraid's other name, 'Maon' or 'dumb', with its suggestion that he and his people were foreign invaders (7). The Erainn, according to the theory, were P-Celts, like the Lagen, who

¹ T. F. O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology*. p. 89.

² Laud, 610 (printed in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, VIII, 312 f.).

³ Cath Maige Lena, O'Curry 1855.

⁴ O'R., op. cit., p. 106.

⁵ Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece* II, p. 545.

⁶ Keating, Vol. II, 165.

⁷ This interpretation of Labraid's name need not exclude other meanings. In an earlier, less anthropomorphic stage of his development, he may well have been the Thunder-God, whose speech was thunder. He would be comparable to Meldos, the Thunder-bolt God, whom O'Rahilly believes to have been the tribal deity of the Meldi. op. cit. 53. 'In the Sick-bed of Cu-Chulainn' (Cross and Slover, *Ancient Irish Tales*, p. 183) there is a fairy-king, Labraid of Mag Mell (O'R. derives Mell too from the root-word 'thunder-bolt'), whose chariot was heard rattling across the waters, portending to those that listened that his spirit was gloomy.

conquered them, and the legend might conceal some admission of kinship, a recognition of a common basis to their languages. It is as likely though to have been a Goidelic as a Leginian anecdote, with the purpose of denying that the inhabitants of southeast Ireland, whatever their provenance, spoke a distinctive non-Goidelic tongue. If such a tongue was, in fact, spoken, when the legend was promulgated, it would be discredited as a mere local patois, for, according to the legend, the ancestor gods of the region would be shown to speak Goidelic.

The southeast of Ireland, where the Legin landed, managed for many centuries to preserve an independent character, passing alternately under the influence of the Goidels of Munster and of the Midlands. When the lives of the saints were being written, there probably still survived memories of idiosyncrasies in the habits, beliefs and speech of the Ossorians and their neighbours. The efforts of the hagiographers to belittle these differences are not always successful. They seem to follow the same practice as historians, guarding against any inference that their heroes, the saints, were newcomers, bringing new ideas, or that they ever in any way associated themselves with foreign invaders. Christianity appeared first in Ossory from the west, at the time when Aengus MacNadfraech, the Goidelic king of Munster, and his clients, the Corcu-Loigde and the Dessi, were extending their power westwards. O'Rahilly thinks that these two tribes, as well as the Ossorians, were Erainn (8), and there is something to be said for the view that they were both regarded as peculiar and primitive in their culture by the Goidels. The Ossorians seem to have been alternately dominated by the Leginian Clann Connla and the Erainn Corcu-Loigde.

St. Kieran was the first bishop and saint of the Ossorians, though it was a later saint, Canice, who gave his name to the town and county of Kilkenny. Kieran's associations are chiefly with Munster, Canice's with the midlands and the north of Ireland but it is in the very north of Ossory, under the Slieve Bloom mountains, that tradition places their monasteries. These mountains remained for centuries a region of pre-Goidelic peoples, Cruthin, Erainn and Legin. The two saints also have strong associations with Scotland and Wales, and there are dedications to Kieran in Cornwall and Brittany. Canice, in particular, seems to have had some special affinity with the Cruthins and Picts of Ireland and Scotland. They would both, according to O'Rahilly's theory, belong to the P-Celtic peoples, at any rate by adoption. There is a powerful tradition that St. Kieran preceded Patrick in evangelizing the Ossorians and there are many stories of disharmony between the two saints and their followers, which the biographers of Patrick and Kieran have not completely succeeded in discrediting.

St. Kieran's mother was one of the Corcu-Loigde from Cape Clear in West Cork and he is said to have been born there (9). Yet since the Corcu-Loigde dominated Ossory for a time and were then thrown out by the Clann Connla an effort was made to show that St. Kieran, the patron saint of Ossory, was a real native Ossorian and not a foreigner. That is the only way in which I can explain the queer reference to him in the *Felire of Aengus*.

Associating him with his successor as abbot of his monastery of Seir-Kieran, Carthach, the stanza runs :

⁸ O'Rahilly, *op. cit.* 18.

⁹ Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, Vol. 1, 217. But O'Rahilly in *The Two Patricks*, suggests that Kieran and the other pre-Patrician saints were British. Even so, his cult would have come to Ossory through the Corcu Loigde.

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' Bounded the Stutterer,
His fame across the salt (Sea) eastwards.
The royal Carthach, the Romish,
' The multitudinous Kieran of Saighir '. (i.e. Seir-Kieran).

But over the first line the scholiast has made a gloss with reference to the stutterer, which has been translated ;

' or not-silent
i.e. not-stuttering or undistinguished ' (10).

(John Hogan, Kieran's 19th century biographer improves on the gloss by saying that 'not-stuttering' means 'eloquent'!)

If the translation is correct and 'not-stuttering' was equated by the scholiast with 'not-undistinguished', we have advanced a further stage towards proving that the undistinguished subject races, whose language was unintelligible, were called 'stutterers' or simply 'dumb'. By birth-place and blood, Kieran was closely associated with the P-Celtic tribe of Corcu-Loigde, as we have seen, and this in course of time became a discreditable association which had to be vigorously denied. Hence both the stanza and the scholiast's defiant gloss upon it. According to the same principle, 'Maon', the 'dumb', had to be rechristened 'Labraid', 'the speaker' (11). The *Felire* is dated some time before 778 and it would appear that when it was written it was still possible to admit that there had been eminent Irishmen, who were not Goidels (12).

The Dessi, too, appear in Ossory history as a distinctive and ill-comprehended people. The cannibal practices of their fosterling, Ethne the Horrible (13), and her devotion to her mother's people rather than to her father's or her husband's, the stories about these things are such as you would relate, true or false, of a tribe with which you shared no tradition of speech or origin. It is likely that they were an earlier people than the Ossorians, but, as they had obvious matriarchal habits, they may easily have acquired an alien aristocracy. The story of their wanderings from Meath to Ard-ladran in south Leinster and thence to Milledach in south Ossory and finally to Munster may in that case be connected with the marriages of their princesses. Their Goidelic consorts, Crimthann of South Leinster, the husband of three Dessi princesses, and Aengus MacNadfraech of Munster, who married Crimthann's daughter, Ethne, may have chosen to obtain new spheres of influence and legitimize their oppressions by marrying the

¹⁰ Translation by Hennessy, quoted by J. Hogan (*St. Ciaran of Ossory*, p. 69). Whitley Stokes in a slightly different translation interprets the crucial phrase 'unsilently', but 'balbdai' means literally and primarily 'in a stuttering manner'. The translation Romish for ruamach is not now acceptable.

Carthach was the son of Aengus and Ethne the Horrible. He had a brother called Faelan Balbh, who is identical with St. Foelan Amlabhair. (See note 31).

¹¹ See Ovid, *Fasti* II, 583, for a similar antithesis, which might admit of a similar explanation. Muta, the mother of the Lares or household gods, whom the Romans adopted from the Etruscans, was a nymph, who talked too much and was struck dumb by Jupiter. The Lares, on the other hand, derived their name, according to Latin philologists from *λαλᾶν* to speak.

¹² Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, p. 481, dates bulk of glosses to *Felire* to 11th century or later.

¹³ *Y Cymmrodor*, 12-14, p. 119. 'On account of this maiden', says the Druid, 'her mother's kindred shall seize the land on which they dwell. So they reared her on the flesh of little boys . . . little boys dreaded her . . . so that she would grow quickly'.

female leaders of the Dessi (14). The Dessi were a widely scattered people, and, when we are told of their migrations, the intention may be to account for their tribe being known in several different parts of Ireland as well as Wales and their queens, who, no doubt, had a spiritual sway over them, associated, in turn, with different peoples. Thus the Dessi, a branch of a once widespread primitive race, would have been indigenous in all the regions to which or from which they are supposed to have migrated. Their departure from any district would merely mean that they had accepted alien rule and only by their customs or their cult, that of Declan for example, would they be distinguishable from their new rulers. In this way I would explain the alleged evacuation of south Ossory by the Dessi and also the persistent tradition that a strange and primitive people continued to live there. As regards the Dessi marriages, I do not think the case would be altered, if it was held that the Dessi queens were ancestress goddesses. Supernatural alliances follow in the tracks of natural ones. Thus according to Ridgeway (15), the marriages of Menelaus and Helen, Xuthus and Creusa, Pelops and Hippodamia, etc., betoken the fusion of the Achæan invader with an older and indigenous people, who practised matriarchy.

East and northeast of the Ossorians lay the Lagen of Wexford and Carlow. To the north there were the Cruthin of Leix and the Eli to the northwest, who, O'Rahilly (16) thinks, were more likely to be Lagen than Munster Goidels. Westwards and southwards lay the Goidels of Cashel and their allies the Dessi.

Who were the Ossorians themselves? They claimed to be Lagen, 'but', says O'Rahilly (17), 'their very insistence on this point reveals that they were propagating a novel theory'. In fact it is likely that they were a people of mixed Lagen and pre-Lagen descent. It is well known that for a century and a half a large part of Ossory, including the northern province of Ui Duach, was under the sway of Corcu Loigde kings (Erainn), brought there, it is said, by Aengus MacNadfraech, the Southern Goidel. It is possible that this rule was written up as a usurpation, like that of Cobhthach at Dionn Riogh or Cairbre Cathead at Tara, only after it had come to an end, that, in fact, they were indigenous in north Ossory, as the Dessi were in the south, but did not become formidable to the Lagen, till they passed like their kinsmen, the Corcu Loigde of West Cork, under the patronage of the Goidelic kings. When later, they came under Lagen control, naturally their gods, Laeghaire Bern Buadach, for example, would be inserted into the Lagen pedigree.

It appears that from very early times south Ossory lay on a different invasion route to the north; the megalithic belt, a very rich one, hardly reaches beyond the Walsh mountains, the Ogham belt does not extend north of Clara near Kilkenny city. The range of sculptured crosses is similar. I think it would be true to say that southern Ossory preserved always a more intimate relationship with Munster and the west than did north Ossory. After the eclipse of the Corcu Loigde, north Ossory was orientated towards the Lagen and the Midland Goidels. Earlier, Eremon, who had made his capital at Rathbeath in Ui Duach, had been the leader of the Midland, not of the Southern Goidels. Though later on the Southern Goidels, under Aengus MacNadfraech, may have made inroads, their influence was not a persistent one.

One can only guess at the racial origins of the Ossorians, but I think it is plain that marked differences of dialect and language existed among them. The lives of the saints were written at a time, when the Goidelic tongue had supplanted others as a literary language. With immense arrogance the scribes had decided that what the others spoke

¹⁴ The King of Ossory, Conchraid, also seems to have been on the verge of an entanglement with a Dessi princess, but he was saved from it by St. Ciaran. Plummer, *V.S.H.*, 1, 224.

¹⁵ Ridgeway, op. cit, Vol. II, 101.

¹⁶ O'Rahilly, op. cit., p. 21.

¹⁷ op. cit., p. 18.

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was not speech at all. Yet at times they were obliged to eulogize saints, whose associations with these speechless zones was too well-attested to be ignored. Ossory, and particularly southern Ossory seems to have been a speechless zone.

I have said that the Dessi were traditionally supposed to have settled at Milledach in south Ossory (by the confluence of the Barrow, Nore and Suir). They were quickly evicted, it is said, by the Ossorians (18). In revenge they plotted with Aengus and his queen Ethne, whom they had fostered and who considered herself a Dessi princess like her mother. Together they won the district of Femen from the Ossorians. Yet it is not recorded that, in their moment of triumph, they recovered their former land at the confluence. I suspect that they never lost it or left it but that what its inhabitants lost or were discouraged from acknowledging was their sense of kinship with the Dessi of Waterford. They became closely associated with the southern Ossorians, their neighbours, who treated their queerness not as a distinctive national culture but as a nasty divagation from the Ossorian norm.

There are three curious anecdotes, which, taken together, have a bearing on this. The first one comes from the Life of St. Declan (19). We read there how Declan, when he was walking one day through south Ossory, asked for a night's lodging in a certain settlement. He was insulted and forcibly repelled. To avenge him the Lord killed sixty of the inhabitants and only two men and ten women, who had opposed the ill-treatment of Declan, survived. These offered him the place for a monastery and he made Kilcolumderg there (the name still survives), and put one of the Dál Mess Corb, called Columbus Rufus, in charge of it, withdrawing himself to Dessi territory.

The next anecdote is told about a cairn in the same parish of Kilcolumb (20). St. Patrick had come to the hill, where the cairn later stood. He was charmed by the site and started to build a city there. While they were working away at the foundations of the cathedral, a pagan woman came up with a dish of roast meat. Patrick did not like the look of it. He thought he saw a dog's paw in the gravy. He made the Sign of the Cross over it and prayed. The meat leapt out of the dish in the form of a yellow dog and ran towards Waterford. St. Patrick called the spot 'Cunniawee' or 'Yellow Dog' and pronounced an awful curse on the woman, her descendants and her neighbourhood. The curse includes the lines:

'Accursed the black breed of this woman',
Who served to me this filthy hound!
From their wry mouths henceforth no man
Shall hear but foul, impious sound!'

Of the place itself he declared:

May all good men for e'er dislike it,
May it be cursed with deaf and dumb!'

The third anecdote is very similar to this but it refers to St. Declan and to the district of Femen, round Slievenaman, which the Dessi took from the Ossorians (21). Declan was wandering there one day, when he was invited to a meal by a sly, rich pagan. Again the principal dish was a fat roast dog and Declan caught sight of the paw in the gravy. The trick was exposed, the land forfeited in penance, and a monastery built called Coninga or 'Dog's Paw'.

¹⁸ For the story see *Y Cymmrodor*, 12-14, p. 119.

¹⁹ *V.S.H.*, II, 51.

²⁰ John O'Donovan, Ordnance Survey Letter on Kilkenny, quoted in Carrigan *History of Ossory*, IV, 98.

²¹ *V.S.H.*, II, 50.

What can we deduce from these curiously overlapping and yet conflicting stories? What had the narrators in view? In the first place they had to account for the survival in the Kilcolumb district of the cult of the Dessi saint and of another saint unfamiliar to Ossory. Columbus Rufus, who succeeded Declan at Kilcolumb, was of the Dál Mess Corb, a powerful tribe originating in the Arklow region (22). It would be natural enough that in this border territory, the cults of the Dál Mess Corb, an eastern tribe from Wexford and Wicklow and of the Dessi, a western tribe, should meet. That the meeting was not a friendly one is suggested by the sixty deaths. It is a principle of hagiology that though tribes may disagree, tribal saints always make up their quarrels, so Columbus Rufus appears in the life of Declan as the disciple, not the supplanter of Declan. The Dál Mess Corb, like the Dessi, were certainly a pre-Laginian tribe (23), and plainly there was some primitive, much disliked cult of dogs in these border territories of Femen and Ida, with which the Dessi and other tribes of the Erainn were associated. (There are dolmens called 'Graves of the Hounds' at Garryduff and Kilmogue in this district of southern Ossory, which no doubt came to be connected wrongly with the dog-folk) (24).

In the Life of Declan it is Declan himself who is served with roast dog by the pagan; in the later legend of Kilcolumb in Ida the association of the neighbourhood with the Dessi has been forgotten or ignored and it is Patrick, who gets the bad reception. It is remarkable that in several other parts of Ossory there are legends of St. Patrick receiving a poor welcome (25). This means, I think, that it was some time before Patrician Christianity got a foothold here. The stories commemorate some not completely successful struggle between Christianity and Paganism or heresy, which has been confused with an earlier struggle of Goidels or Lagen against a primitive people, who were 'deaf and dumb' and from whose 'wry mouths' there issued nothing but 'foul impious sounds'.

The story of the imprisonment of Scanlan, king of Ossory, by the High King and St. Columba's intercession for him, and of Scanlan's miraculous escape is fairly well-known (26). I shall only repeat one passage, because it illustrates once more the widespread opinion that the Ossorians were a distinctive tribe. When the angel released Scanlan, the prince made his way to the church near Derry where Columba was at matins. When Columba asked for his news, he replied panting, 'Deoch! Deoch!' (A drink! A drink!), so great was his thirst. Because he could say nothing but, 'Deoch!' St. Columba left an impediment in speech to his posterity (or, as another version has it, to the kings of Ossory, who came after him) (27). Scanlan appealed against this curse,

²² Other saints of the Dál Mess Corb were Abban and Dagan and the Kevin group of saints, who were associated with Wicklow and Wexford.

²³ O'Rahilly, *op. cit.* 27.

²⁴ Carrigan, *op. cit.*, IV, 248-9. For other dog and dolmen stories, see O. G. S. Crawford, *Long Barrows of the Cotswolds*. The same association occurs in Wales.

²⁵ For hostility of Ui Duach of Ossory to St. Patrick see *V.S.H.* I, 222, also *Kilkenny Archaeological Journal*, 1876, 191-3, and John O'Donovan, *K.A.ŷ.*, 1849-51, 365. For hostility in South Ossory see Joyce's *Place-names*, Vol. II, 34.

²⁶ For the several versions of this story see Father Shearman, *K.A.ŷ.*, 1876-8, 354.

²⁷ Father John Ryan, S. J. (*Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries*, April, 1946) thinks that the Clann Connla, the rival dynasty of Ossory, returned permanently to power soon after Scanlan's death, but this does not seem very probable from this anecdote, which implies that Scanlan had successors of his own blood. It is, of course, possible that the story is not told of Scanlan Mor but of another Scanlan of the Clann Connla; in that case, the dynasty of stammerers would be Lagen, not Corcu Loigde. From the standpoint of the Goidels, both dynasties, being P-Celtic, would be equally difficult to follow.

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but Columba told him that it was God's decree, yet to console him he said that there should be many princes and rulers of Scanlan's seed. There was a tradition in County Kilkenny that the descendants of Scanlan did, in fact, stammer. I doubt too whether the narrator would have told this prophecy, if it had been unfulfilled. The story bears witness to the fact that in later times there survived among the Ossorians either a distinctive language or the tradition of one, which the midland Goidels found difficulty in understanding. The story that St. Columba put the curse of stammering on Scanlan's posterity for ever afterwards simply because he asked for a drink too often is otherwise a baffling one, for Scanlan was a protégé of St. Columba. I cannot resist the suspicion that the word 'deoch' conceals some pun or provincial barbarism, which a philologist might unravel (28).

It would be premature, though tempting, to build a theory of racial origins on facts such as these. The most one can do is to draw attention to their oddity and to hope that its significance will one day be better understood. There are other anomalies, which cannot be overlooked. Why, for example, was Banba, the first woman, who took Ireland before the flood also called 'Balba' (29). Was Mac Da Tho really the son of two mutes? (30) How could St. Foelan Amlabhair be the first Christian missionary to Scotland and yet be dumb? (31) Who was the stammering king of Ireland, Suibhne Menn? (32) Who was the Scál Balbh (33), and why was his name attached to the Leac an Sceal Bhailbh, the largest of the dolmens in south Kilkenny?

The Ulaid (the Ulstermen of the Saga), were once P-Celts, in O'Rahilly's view, so it is natural to ask, whether Cuscraid, the Stammerer, Conchobar's son, really owed his nick-name to the fact that a spear went through his wind-pipe (34). And was it really only because they loved him and wished to flatter him that all the women of Ulster started to stammer too (35).

Then there was an Ulster saint, Darerca, who acquired her other name of Moninne from a dumb poet. The Felire of Aengus gives her day as July 6. 'Moninne of Sliab Cuillinn, who was previously named Darerca, or Saibile was her name previously. But a certain dumb poet fasted at her that his speech might come to him. And this was the first thing he said, i.e. Nin Nin. Hence the nun was called Mo-ninne and the poet Ninine eces'. Surely, though, what happened was that the saints of two tribes, one

²⁸ The anecdote has a family resemblance to that of St. Moninne's second name (see below).

²⁹ She and Ladran and his fifteen other female companions curiously took the same route as the Dessi, going from Ard-ladran to Milledach. Ultimately Ladran died of 'female persecution'. Lebor Gabala, *Irish Texts*, II, 187, 191, 207.

³⁰ O'Rahilly, *op. cit.*, 485, derives the name from Da To, the dumb god.

³¹ Watson's *Celtic Place-names of Scotland*.

³² *V.S.H.* II, 369, cf. also Colla Menn, ancestor of the Mugdorni, a primitive tribe, one of whose sept's was Papraige, therefore, supposedly, P-Celtic. Cf. also Moen MacEtna, a poet. O'R. *op. cit.* 103.

³³ He was also Cian, the father of Lug. O'R. *op. cit.* 61, 103.

³⁴ The attribute 'stammering' may, of course, sometimes have derived from the intercourse of the Irish with foreign missionaries or other visitors, Romanized Celts perhaps from abroad. It is a double-edged word which can be used equally well by either party to the misunderstanding. In Irish monastic circles on the continent, the names Balbus and Balbulus seem once or twice at least to have been used as pseudonyms for foreigners. Kenney, *op. cit.* 568 and 596.

³⁵ 'Story of Mac Da Tho's Pig, trans. by Kuno Meyer.

dumb, one speaking, had come to be identified (36). Moninne was of the Cruthin or Irish Picts.

As for the 'intolerable language of the bards' (37), which is constantly mentioned, does this refer to cursings only? Hardly. A language that is obsolete or foreign often possesses peculiar magical or sacramental qualities and survives in blessings and solemn denunciations long after it has died out in ordinary speech (38). St. Columba, the defender of the bards, was also the patron, like St. Canice, of the Picts and of the 'stammering' kings of Ossory. When at Seir Kieran the Crossans or local bards chanted a dirge over the grave of Donnchad, king of Ossory, why were the clergy and better class mourners and the local Culdee so revolted that they started to vomit? Why did they consider them demons? Why did they have to fast and to sprinkle holy water on the grave? The words of the dirge, which Keating records, are highly respectable, eulogistic, Christian. He relates that two local Crossans, who were at the funeral, and do not seem like demons, committed the dirge to memory. Does not that mean that the words were unintelligible gibberish to the bystanders, till the bards translated them and therefore the language of the dirge was as ill-omened as the peculiar mourning garb of the Crossans? Is it not possible that in that wild district of the Slievebloom, with its many minor tribes, the Crossans retained a pre-Goidelic language and Christian cult, even in the tenth century, a cult and language, which the Ossorians themselves had long shed and which survived for them only in blasphemy and forbidden ritual? (39).

There may be a straightforward answer to many of these questions but, if they are taken in conjunction, the obvious explanations fail to satisfy.

In regard to language difficulties, I do not think that the many queer stories about books have been sufficiently examined. Many books were clearly of magical importance because of their antiquity and long association with a people or neighbourhood. At least one lot of books, as we shall see, was so old and unintelligible as to be almost sinister. Often the deeply cherished books, in troubled times, must have disappeared, but they were usually, as we read in the lives of the saints, restored as good as new. The holy books, which saints leave out in the rain or drop into ponds or lose in conflagrations, always survive these catastrophes unimpaired. In this way, when a community loses the venerable treasure which attracts pilgrims from afar off, a new book soon inherits the veneration and authority of the old. Yet I think there must have been a tradition among the simple folk always that the oldest books, even when their orthodoxy or refinement was open to question, had the most magical properties.

This would account for the strange mixture of repining and complacency, with which the loss of Lon Garad's library is related (40). This saint, who was also called Cois Finn or White-Leg, lived at Disert in north Ossory. He was a very learned man and, on his account, St. Columba made another appearance in Ossory legend to inspect his books. Columba, as we have seen, was a patron of linguistic oddities. Lon Garad refused to

³⁶ 'Sickbed of Cu-chulain', Cross and Slover, *Ancient Irish Tales*, p. 178.

³⁷ See Kenney, *op. cit.* 427.

³⁸ For divine words as an archaic survival, perhaps from an older race, see Leaf on *Iliad*. I. 403 and xx, 74. *ὁν ἑάνθον καλέουσι Θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμανδρον.*

³⁹ Keating, III, 216-221. Charles Autran, 'Homère et les origines sacerdotales de l'épopée grecque', p. 76, gives many instances of this, e.g. the Gaelic of Cornwall, replaced by Brythonic, survives in 'The Fairy Speech'. In Calabria till 1910 girls sang to the goddess in Albanian, an ancient local idiom, on July 27; the day of Santa Venere.

⁴⁰ Felire of Aengus, Sep. 3. Martyrology of Donegal, Sep. 3.

PLATE I



a. HEAD OF THE APOLLO-BELVEDERE
(Rome: Vatican)



b. TERRACOTTA HEAD FROM THE NORTHWEST FRONTIER, PAKISTAN
(Eric Dickinson Collection). About half life-size



a. BUST OF THE YOUNG MARCUS AURELIUS c. A.D. 150
(Rome : Capitoline Museum)



b. STUCCO HEAD FROM THE DHARMARAJIKA MONASTERY, TAXILA
Height, 10½ inches

PLATE III



a. STUCCO HEAD FROM THE JAITLEÁN MONASTERY, TAXILA
Height, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches



b. STUCCO HEAD OF SATYR FROM TAXILA (SIRKAP)
Height, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches

PLATE IV



a. HEAD OF GAUL
(Rome : National Museum.)



b. STUCCO HEAD FROM THE NORTHWEST FRONTIER, PAKISTAN
(Eric Dickenson Collection). About half life size.

PLATE V



A



B

a. SCHIST FRIEZE FROM THE KUNALA MONASTERY, TAXILA

Length, 15 inches

b. STUCCO (left) AND STONE (right) SCULPTURES FROM HADDA, AFGHANISTAN
(Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan)

PLATE VI



a. STUCCO BUDDHA IN THE JAULIAN MONASTERY,
TAXILA
c. 4th to 5th cent. A.D. About $\frac{3}{4}$ life-size



b. STUCCO BUDDHA IN THE JAULIAN MONASTERY, TAXILA:
c. 4th to 5th cent. A.D. Compare Plate VII a
(Scale is of inches and centimetres)

PLATE VII



1. HEAD OF STUCCO BUDDHA SHOWING TWO PERIODS OF WORKMANSHIP; IN THE JAULIAN MONASTERY, TANILA
Compare Plate vi b. Height, 6 inches

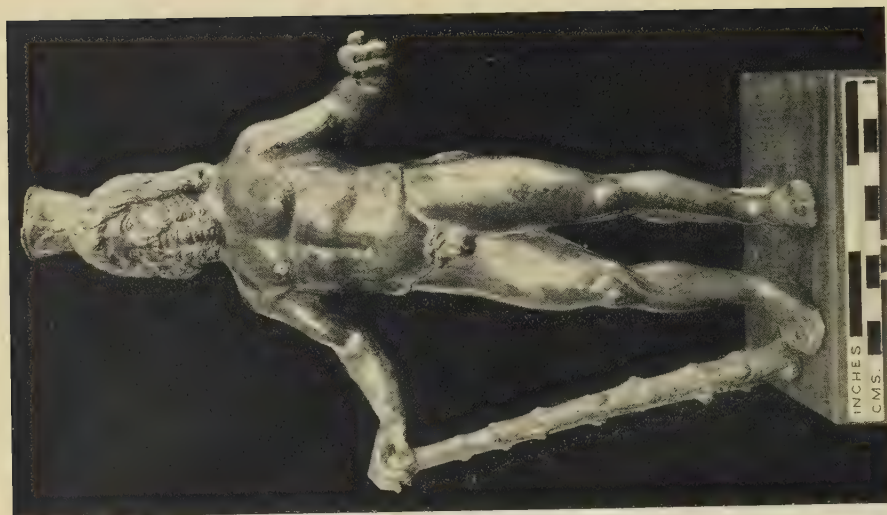


2. STUCCO HEAD SHOWING TWO PERIODS OF WORKMANSHIP, FROM SAHR I-BAHLUL, NORTHWEST FRONTIER PROVINCE, PAKISTAN (PATNA MUSEUM)
About half life-size

PLATE VIII



a. STUCCO BODHISATVA OF 'ANTINOUS' TYPE, FROM HADDA, AFGHANISTAN
(Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan)
About half life-size



b. BRONZE STATUETTE OF HERAKLES-SERAPIS, FROM THE BEGRAM HOARD, AFGHANISTAN
(Kabul Museum). Height, 9½ inches

PLATE IX



A



B



C

a, and b. STUCCO PLAQUES FROM THE BEGRAM HOARD, AFGHANISTAN
(Kabul Museum). Diameter, about 6 inches

c. STUCCO MOULD WITH IMPRESSION (right) FROM THE ROMAN CITY OF SABRATHA,
TRIPOLITANIA, N. AFRICA
(Sabratha Museum). Diameter, 7 inches

PLATE X

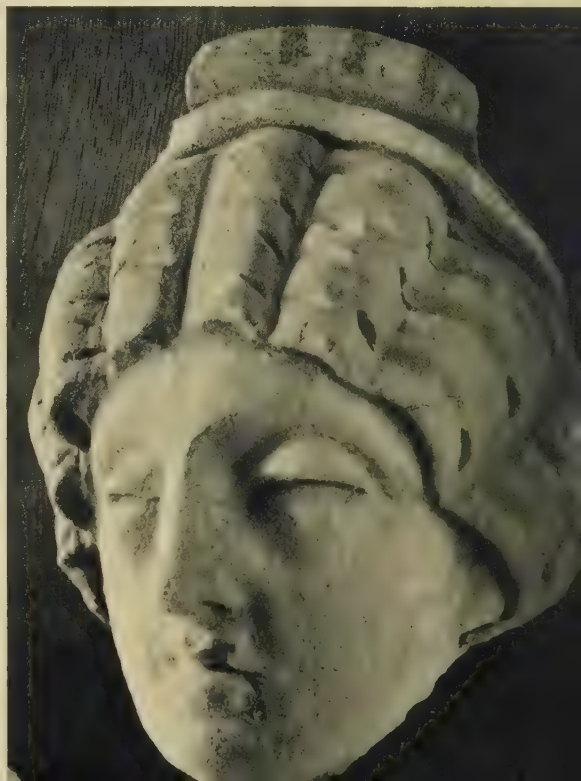


A

a. STUCCO BODHISATTVA, FROM THE JAULIÂN
MONASTERY, Taxila
Height of Head, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches

b. STUCCO HEAD OF BODHISATTVA, FROM HADDA,
AFGHANISTAN
(Délégation Française en Afghanistan)

c. STUCCO HEAD FROM THE ROMAN CITY OF
SABRATHA, TRIPOLITANIA, N. AFRICA
(Sabratha Museum). Height, 5 inches



let him see his books. Then Columba prayed that no man alive might be able to read these books and from that time forth not a word of them could be read. Another story, more complimentary to Lon Garad, tells that on his death the books in all Ireland fell from their satchels and that learning in Ireland suffered a terrible loss. It has been suggested that the books contained druidical knowledge, but the references to Lon Garad are too respectful. Is it not possible that Lon Garad spoke and wrote an unintelligible language and perhaps practised some regional and unorthodox cult? When the stories of St. Columba were being developed in the Columban monasteries, tales would be woven round those occasions when their monks in other parts had met with some intransigence of faith or language and when they had either overcome it or respectfully come to terms with it.

St. Canice, who is definitely associated with the older races, is mentioned constantly in connexion with books. He had two conflagrations in his monasteries. On one occasion his gospel-book, on the other his whole library was miraculously preserved. Another time the gospel-book was left out in the snow and yet reappeared miraculously undamaged. It is told that, when he was studying in St. Cadoc's school in Wales, at the master's bidding he abandoned his copying work with exemplary obedience in the middle of the letter o (41). This story may derive from some unfinished or half destroyed ms attributed to him. Particularly puzzling and interesting is the story of the gospel-book, which St. Canice wrote in 40 days and 40 nights on an island in Lough Cree near Roscrea. It was called 'Glass Kannechi', which was long interpreted as Canice's Fetter, a curious name for which several not very satisfactory explanations have been given (42). I think his successors and biographers were as much puzzled by it as we are. Otherwise I cannot explain the queer story of the abbot, who succeeded him at Aghaboe (43).

This Abbot, Liber, had been a bad young man, who despised the Word of God and therefore died from a fall from a horse. St. Canice resurrected him and he did penance, but Canice trusted him so little that when he took him to Britain, he kept his legs bound with fetters and threw the key into the sea. After 7 years he was allowed to return to Ireland, and he found the key to his fetters in the stomach of a fish which he caught in the Liffey.

What does this story mean? Surely the fettered St. Book, whom St. Canice brought about with him to Britain and back, must have some connexion with St. Canice's holy Book, which was called his Fetter. Is it not possible that St. Canice's book inherited the veneration, which was due to its supposed writer? Simple people, hearing of Holy Liber, which was to be found in a certain monastery, may, in their ignorance of Latin, have supposed that some holy saint was meant. So St. Book would find his way into the Calendar. St. Book, like St. Canice, was associated with Britain, so may not the book have been written in the British tongue or in any case in a language that the simpler Gaels would deem foreign? The lives of the saints are of course very late, and the book attributed to St. Canice may well have dated from many centuries later than the date claimed for it. But the book and the legends associated with it must have presented a problem to the hagiographer, which he had to solve as best he could. His story is so queer that some explanation of the kind I have offered must be made.

There is another story of a destroyed library, connected with Ossory. St. Moling, fearing for the loss of his books during an invasion, entrusted them to St. Muicin, who

⁴¹ *V.S.H.* I, 153.

⁴² *V.S.H.* I, 167 and II, 386.

⁴³ *V.S.H.* I, 157.

lived at Mayne, near the Caves of Dunmore, north of Kilkenny. He hid them in the caves, where they were destroyed by the floods. St. Moling forgave him. St. Moling was the patron saint of the Lagen and the disappearance of his books in Ossory may be a way of describing the disappearance of a Lagen remnant, their cult and language.

Whether these conjectures are wide of the mark or not I shall not apologize for them. If you are digging for treasure, even your failures are illuminating to the next comer. The lives of the saints were once treated very reverently, and local scholars, such as Hogan and Carrigan (44), travelling round the country parishes, tried to bring local legends, ruins, earth-works and place-names into conformity with these imaginary histories. Later on too great a reaction set in, the lives of the saints were pronounced nonsensical, and Hogan and the others were discarded as naïve and unreadable. The work of Charles Plummer has now, through its careful, relentless analysis, reinstated the lives of the saints as wonderful source-books for the interpretation of the past.

The hagiographers, whose daily life was full of chaos and tragedy, naturally preferred uniformity above everything; they relished the stereotyped anecdote and crude standardized virtues and vices. They liked history to have a sharp simple pattern and had no taste for the curious anomalies, the divergences between fact and theory, which to us are more revealing than their smooth moralizing. They did their best to suppress the evidence of disharmonies in religious cults, language and race. They did not like it to be known that many of their most sacred practices had very uncouth origins. All the same they were not always successful in suppressing what displeased them, and it is these failures of theirs which are most enlightening to us.

Plummer's critical apparatus was derived from the library and the study, O'Donovan's, Hogan's and Shearman's far more from the open fields. I think fresh progress would be made, if the investigation of these problems was pursued in the spirit of Plummer but with a new approach. We should start again from the close examination of the countryside and its legends. For example the deductions of the 19th century historians of Ossory are obviously almost all wrong, but the facts which they accumulated and collated, are invaluable. There are more facts still to be collected and brought into relation to modern scholarship. When this has been done, it will be easier to write the history of the Irish tribes and the slow, haphazard introduction of Christian beliefs.

⁴⁴ Canon Carrigan's *History of Ossory* is still an indispensable work but it is marred throughout by his too great refinement. For example, he averts his mind from the curious diet of small boys on which the Dessi nourished Ethne and writes, 'Under their assiduous care, she grew up to become eminent for ability as well as beauty'. *op. cit.* I, 29.

THE DUMB AND THE STAMMERERS IN EARLY IRISH HISTORY



P. CELTS ARE UNDERLINED

The Excavations at Cairnpapple Hill, West Lothian 1947-8

by STUART PIGGOTT

IN ANTIQUITY 1948, p. 35, a brief account was given of the first season's work on a Bronze Age sanctuary and burial site on Cairnpapple Hill, near Torphichen in West Lothian. With the co-operation of the Ancient Monuments Department of the Ministry of Works, excavations were continued in the summer of 1948. The site was completely stripped, and revealed a complex series of structures indicated by the sockets of once-standing stones or by stones still extant. It will be laid out and conserved by the Department as an Ancient Monument under guardianship. The following account of the main results of the 1947-8 excavations is intended as a preliminary to the full excavation report, which will appear in due course in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, who financed the first season's work.

Cairnpapple Hill, the summit of which is within the 1000 feet contour, is a part of the Bathgate Hills, which form a compact block of high land between the main road to Stirling on the north and from Glasgow to Edinburgh on the south. On the summit, the site before excavation was chiefly distinguished by the grass-grown cairn which gives its name to the hill, but most maps and the earlier antiquarian literature indicated a 'fort' on the same site. Field-work in 1946 had shown that the cairn stood eccentrically within a low roughly circular earthwork (the 'fort') which on surface showing was almost certainly a member of the 'Henge Monument' class of structure. The site was confused by an octagonal turf dyke which had been made round the cairn in the late 18th or early 19th century to enclose a plantation of trees, now vanished.

The excavations in 1947 showed that the surface survey did indeed represent the actual state of affairs, and that a Henge consisting of an external bank and internal rock-cut ditch, surrounding a circle of stone-holes, was overlaid by a later cairn set within the area, but west of its approximate centre. It was therefore clear that the further excavation would involve two separate problems—the stripping of the whole area of the Henge within its ditch, and the complete excavation of the large cairn which though robbed of stones in many places seemed essentially intact. Both operations were carried out in 1948, and the site was found to contain further complexities of structure, involving in all at least five phases of ritual or burial performances on the hill-top. Fortunately the relation of one phase to another was in almost every instance stratigraphically fixed, and although small finds were few, they served to date the structures and to give a coherent chronological framework. The accompanying plan (FIG. 1) shows these features as finally revealed.

PHASE I

The first monument erected on the site appears to have consisted of an irregular arc of standing stones, facing west and with a chord of about 55 feet. In or against all but one of the seven stone-holes were deposits of cremated human bone, and five additional similar deposits were found in the immediate area of the arc, two carrying on its line westward at the north and south ends. No stones remained standing or

CAIRN PAPPLE HILL WEST LOTHIAN

DIAGRAM-PLAN OF EXCAVATIONS 1947-8

STONE-HOLES: PROBABLY NEOLITHIC ○ BEAKER PERIOD ●
 STONES: BEAKER PERIOD ▤ FOOD-VESSEL PERIOD ▥ MIDDLE BRONZE AGE ◊
 CREMATIONS *

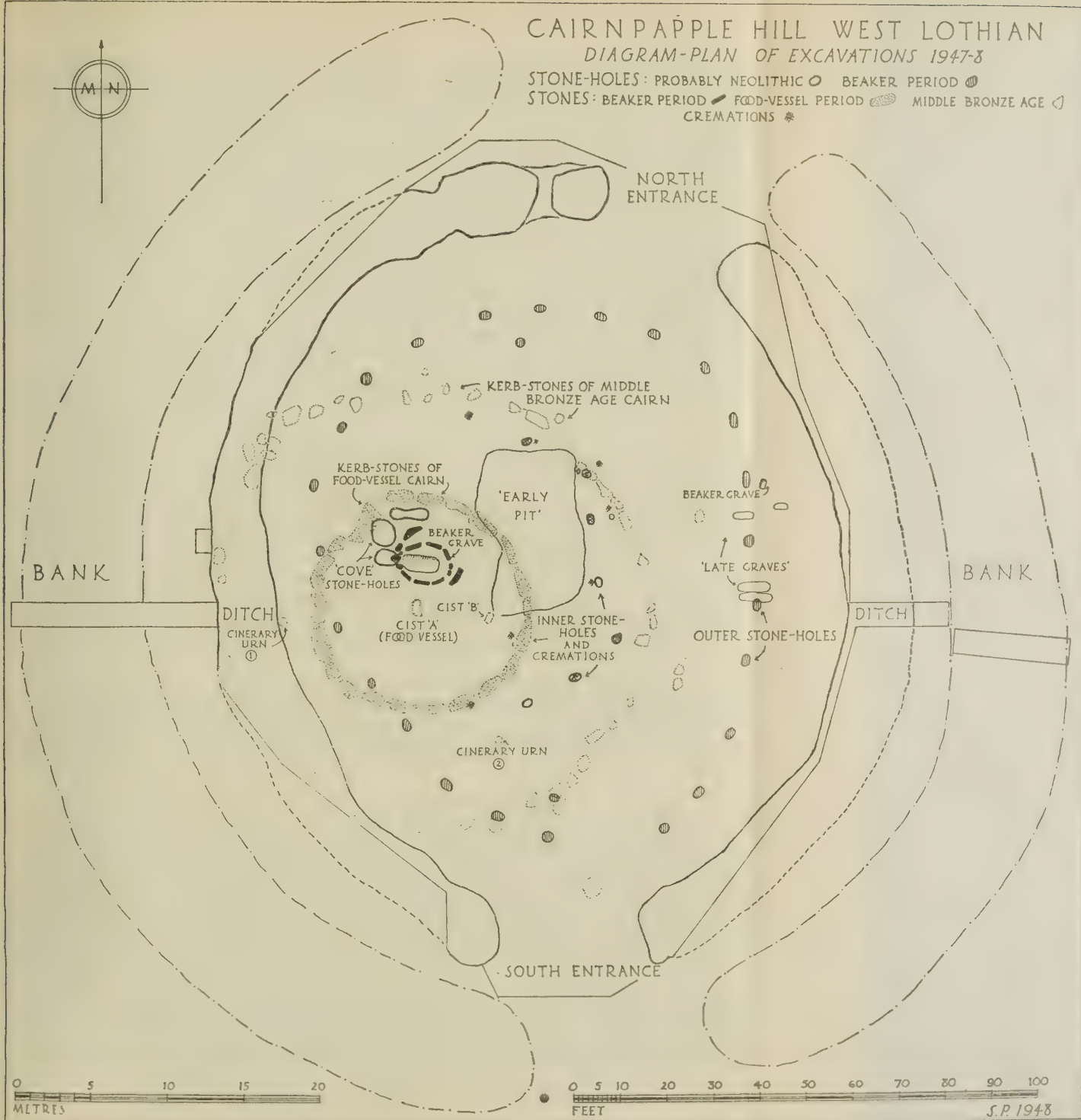


FIG. 1

identifiable, and stratigraphically the arc could be dated only by the fact that the stone-holes were beneath a late Middle Bronze Age enlargement of the main cairn: two cremations were however overlaid by the earlier phase of the cairn, of Food Vessel date.

By analogy, however, stone-holes with cremations in or by them should belong to the class of monuments represented by those recently excavated near Dorchester-on-Thames (with wooden uprights) and the first phase of Stonehenge (ditch, bank, Aubrey Holes and cremation-cemetery). With one of the Cairnpapple cremations was a broken bone pin of a type exactly matched at Stonehenge and Dorchester, and in several late Neolithic contexts elsewhere. There is good reason for thinking that the Dorchester sites, and Stonehenge I, are of late Neolithic date and affiliations, and to this period I would assign the Cairnpapple arc and its cremations. On the old ground surface under the Food Vessel cairn were found two pieces of polished stone axes, petrographically identified as being products of the Graig Lwyd and the Langdale Pike axe-factories respectively, and a sherd of Western neolithic pottery, while another similar sherd came from the filling of a Beaker grave nearby—all these might plausibly be connected with Cairnpapple Phase I. There is no evidence when the stones were removed from the stone-holes, save that this had taken place, and the holes had become filled up, before the end of the Middle Bronze Age.

Opposite the open end of the arc, though not quite central to it, were three huge stone-holes which had become deprived of their stones and filled up by the time the Food Vessel cairn was built. Furthermore, the southernmost of these stone-holes had been re-used for a smaller stone than that for which it had been dug, forming the end-stone of a setting round a rock-cut grave of Beaker date. The setting of three large stones, then, must be pre-Beaker in date, and so likely to be contemporary with the arc. They can only be interpreted as having held the stones of what Stukeley called a 'Cove', and for which no alternative name has ever been put forward. Such 'coves' exist within the North Inner Circle at Avebury and (freestanding, as one assumes that at Cairnpapple to have been) at Stanton Drew in Somerset. It is more than probable that there was a similar structure within the Arbor Low Henge, now represented by fallen stones.

Phase I at Cairnpapple then seems to have consisted of a Cove of three large standing stones, facing east, and an Arc of smaller stones with the open end towards the Cove and the west. Deposits of cremated human bones had been made in and around the area of the Arc. The date of this phase should be pre-Beaker, and is likely to have late Neolithic connexions.

PHASE II

Here, fortunately, the evidence is clearer and the structures less unusual, though nevertheless there are some surprising features. The main elements of the phase are the bank, ditch and stone-holes of a Henge Monument very similar to Arbor Low. The bank measures 200 feet crest-to-crest on its east to west diameter, and within it is a quarry-ditch separated from it by a marked berm. The ditch is broken by two entrances, roughly north and south and 30 feet wide, and encloses an oval area 145 by 125 feet. It is irregularly dug in the rotted rock subsoil and at the time of excavation was silted up nearly level.

Within the area enclosed by this ditch was an oval setting of standing stones, represented by stone-holes with packing-blocks in most instances. The oval measures 115 by 92 feet and consists of twenty-four stone-holes forming the main setting, with two 'inliers' to north and south, making up twenty-six stones in all. The spacing

between stones is not quite regular, but averages about 14 feet, and although the stones continue in even spacing across the northern entrance through the ditch, at the south there is a gap of 25 feet constituting an entrance to the stone setting nearly opposite that in the ditch. There was no evidence (in the form of stone chips, etc.) to suggest that the stones had been destroyed in or near the stone-holes, but they had been bodily removed.

Against one of these stone-holes on the east was a rock-cut grave for a crouched inhumation, completely destroyed by the acid soil, but accompanied by a surviving beaker of class c. No other graves were found associated with the stone-holes, but scraps of undecorated Beaker pottery were found in the silt of the ditch on the west.

Within the Henge area to the west, however, was found a remarkable burial of Beaker date (PLATE 1). In the southernmost of the three stone-holes of the Cove an upright stone, nearly eight feet high, had been set in such a way as to occupy only the easternmost part of the large hole: there were no packing blocks and the hole was filled with rubble only. This stone formed the westernmost (and by far the largest) member of an oval setting 11 by 9 feet, the other stones being set up on or just in the old surface, and enclosing a large grave 7 by 4 feet dug in the rock. Outside the oval setting three stones appeared to have formed part of an outer ring. The whole of these features had been incorporated within the Food Vessel cairn, which had originally covered even the standing stone, though at the time of excavation the top of this projected through the robbed cairn surface.

In the grave was found evidence of an inhumation at full length. The body was represented only by a slight staining on the rock floor of the grave, and by the fragmentary remains of the enamel crowns of the teeth 5 feet 6 inches from the standing stone, which must have stood at the foot of the burial. These teeth were found under, and partly embedded in, an area of carbonised oak wood about 8 inches across and three-quarters of an inch thick, which must have been lying over the face of the corpse. On the north side of the grave were the broken remains of two beakers, one at the foot of class c and the other (of class A) above the position assumed for the head of the interment. Between them, along the side of the grave, lay the carbonised remains of a large oaken object, perhaps a club, 3 feet 6 inches long, expanding to a width of nearly one foot at the upper end. A layer of carbonised oak wood was also found over the beaker at the foot of the grave.

The whole burial is very remarkable: the full-length inhumation, the two beakers and the wooden objects all being unusual features. The wood over the face is even more curious and difficult to explain, but one cannot wholly dismiss the possibility that it represents the remains of a wooden mask worn over the features of the deceased. Such an elaborate burial within the area of the Henge, and against the site of the former Cove, can hardly be classed as anything but ritual in secondary, if not primary, intention. So far as the Henge can be claimed to have a ritual or liturgical centre, this burial must occupy the most likely position for such a focus.

It seems clear that the grave and its oval setting with tall foot-stone must have been incorporated within a small cairn as a part of its original structure. The setting could not have stood free without some support and it could not have taken the thrust of a small cairn within its circumference, but the two larger stones outside the oval setting may well have formed part of such a kerb. Direct evidence of the former presence of such a mound should have been visible in section within the later Food Vessel cairn, but by an unfortunate chance that part of the cairn had been heavily robbed, and such stratification as remained was confused and disturbed.

Eastwards of this grave was a large shallow pit dug in the rock to a general depth of not more than a foot, but going down into oval scoops up to two feet deep in three places. This seems only to be explained as a quarry: the filling showed that it had been left open to silt naturally from the outer edges, and when the cairn was built partly over this pit in Food Vessel times, it was deliberately filled up level for the required distance. Two scraps of undecorated Beaker in the silt show the pit to be approximately of this date, and one can only tentatively explain it as the quarry from which the rubble to make the small cairn over the Beaker grave and its stone setting just described.

To sum up: Phase II saw the building of a Henge Monument similar in many respects to that of Arbor Low, enclosing the older Arc and Cove. There is no evidence to show whether the Arc stones were still allowed to stand, but it does seem inevitable that the southern Cove stone at least must have been removed from its socket before the foot-stone of the Beaker grave was set up—although both could conceivably have stood touching each other in the capacious stonehole. The whole of the Henge structure, and the surely ritual burial in its little cairn, is securely dated by the three Beakers found. It is difficult to understand why the ritual burial was so 'off-centre' to the west: the presence, actual or ritual, of the Cove seems the only explanation, with a desire to re-hallow the older liturgical centre when the later monument was erected.

PHASE III

With the third phase at Cairnpapple comes a significant change of intention. The interest shifts from the ritual to the funerary aspect, and a large burial cairn is built on the site within, and largely at the expense of, the earlier structures. The cairn visible before excavation was found on excavation to be of two dates, the second an enlargement to twice the diameter of the first mound (PLATE II).

The earlier cairn had an approximate diameter of 50 feet and was bounded by a massive kerb made of large stones laid on their sides on the old ground surface. These stones, like all others surviving on the site, are of local origin and could have been dragged from anywhere on the hill-top or nearby, but in view of the complete disappearance of the Henge stones, it seems extremely likely (though of course unproven) that they were taken down and re-used to form this cairn kerb. There are twenty-one stones in the kerb, and taking into account the Cove, the Arc and the Henge oval, there could have been thirty-six stones to choose from. There is no doubt that some at least of the Henge stones must have been removed at or before the time of building the cairn, for it overlies their filled-in stone-holes on the west, as it does those of the Cove. On the whole it seems most probable that the Henge was depleted, if not destroyed, to form the kerb of the cairn and perhaps some of its internal structures.

The precise position of the cairn seems to have been determined by a necessity felt by its builders for incorporating within its kerb and mound the earlier Beaker grave. This involved building part of the cairn, with its heavy kerb-stones, over the quarry-pit east of this grave: the pit seems to have been open with the exception of a small deposit of silt against its outer edges, and on its western edge, where the kerb overlies it, it was filled up deliberately with stiff blue boulder-clay brought from the foot of the hill.

The cairn was mainly built of large stones without earth, though on the east and south a thick layer of the same blue clay as that used to fill the pit was incorporated in the body of the cairn between two layers of stones: it had been trampled down and iron-pan had formed on it, as it had over that rammed down into the pit. But the precautions taken were in vain. The kerb over the made soil in the pit gave way, and the whole body of the cairn slipped disastrously to the north-east, spilling out over and partly

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into the pit, which seems, however to, have been filled or silted by the time the collapse took place.

Centrally within the kerb was a large cist, constructed by setting upright slabs to line a rock-cut pit, and then building up horizontal dry-stone walling to take the single massive capstone. The collapse of the cairn north-eastwards had caused this cap to be wrenched aside, and the walling and cairn material on the west had tumbled in, half-filling the cist. When the situation was observed during excavation, little hope was held out of intact or even recognizable grave-goods beneath this tumble of heavy stones, and it was with considerable astonishment that an intact Food Vessel was found lying among the uppermost stones in the cist. Below the stones, smashed fragments of unburnt human bones were found on the floor of the cist, pounded to smears and scraps. The intact pot on top of the filling was difficult to understand until a more careful study of the construction of the cist walls showed that on the east wall, immediately adjacent to the spot where the Food Vessel was found, the stones had been set back so as to form a shelf on which the pot must have stood, to fall only a few inches when the cairn material shifted and the upper part of the western wall of the cist collapsed inwards.

Between this cist and the kerb on the east, was another with a very large and heavy capstone, but built only of small boulders enclosing a rectangular space only eight inches deep and containing in its centre an unaccompanied human cremation. There seems no doubt of the contemporaneity of the two cists, and the whole cairn must be of Food Vessel date.

In the stones filling the central cist was one squarish block, almost certainly part of the walling on the west, with three cup-marks 'pecked' deeply on one face. Elsewhere scattered in the body of the cairn were three or four other stones bearing each a shallow 'pecked' cup-mark.

Phase III marks the first specifically funerary use of the site, with a large cairn having a central cist containing a Food Vessel inhumation, a second cist with a cremation, and a massive kerb almost certainly formed of the re-used stones of the Henge Monument, whose destruction probably dates from this time.

PHASE IV

The kerb of the Food Vessel cairn was completely invisible on the surface when the excavations were begun, though an irregularly circular kerb of boulders with a diameter of about 100 feet was conspicuous round the periphery of the visible mound. It was apparent at an early stage of the work that this outer kerb was that of an enlargement to the original, 50-foot, cairn, in which the mound had been increased to twice the diameter, though probably with little addition to the height, of the earlier structure.

This enlargement consisted of smaller stones and a greater proportion of rubble and earth than the Food Vessel cairn, and on the west it overlay the now silted-up ditch of the Henge for a distance of over 80 feet of its inner edge. The kerb was of smaller and rounder boulders than the long stones of the earlier tomb, and these were irregularly placed on the old ground surface without any form of bedding or packing into place. Within the circuit of this kerb, and under the mound of the enlarged cairn, were the Arc stone-holes of the first phase, as well as the quarry-pit probably of Phase II, and seven stone-holes of the Henge in addition to two more under the Food Vessel cairn as well.

Two burials referable to this enlargement were found, one on the west and one on the south, and both in inverted Overhanging Rim cinerary urns. The west burial (no. 1) was in a shallow pit in the old surface, and the pot had collapsed and telescoped

PLATE I



CAIRNPAPPLE HILL: BEAKER GRAVE WITH STONE SETTING OF PHASE II, INCORPORATED WITHIN
FOOD VESSEL CAIRN OF PHASE III

PLATE II



CAIRNPAPPLE HILL: CAIRN COMPLETELY EXCAVATED, SHOWING KERB AND CISTS OF PHASE III (FOOD VESSEL)
AND GRAVE OF PHASE II (BEAKER). (Looking east)

over the cremated human bones. There were no grave-goods except a large pin of Red Deer antler, also burnt. The second burial, on the south, was similarly in a shallow pit, but the pot was almost intact, inverted over cremated human bones with a burnt bone pin with eyed head. A feature of interest however was that in the shallow pit and against the sides of the urn had been placed a quantity of dark soil containing fragments of charcoal, tiny sherds of cord-ornamented pottery, and fragments of flint implements splintered by fire. The whole appearance was strongly suggestive of soil from a hut floor and hearth. Both urns are typologically late in the cinerary urn series, and should on conventional nomenclature be late Middle Bronze Age.

Phase IV, the enlargement of an earlier burial mound for the deposition of new burials, with the provision of a new outer kerb, follows a well-known Bronze Age precedent in this country as well as on the Continent. It implies continuity in tomb-building and a continued veneration of an ancient burial.

PHASE V

The final phase at Cairnpapple is curious, and not easy to understand. On the eastern side of the Henge, four graves were found cut in the rock, one destroying the greater part of a stone-hole of the Beaker period monument. There was no trace of skeletons or grave-goods in them, but they were clearly intended to accommodate bodies at full length. Their relationship to the stone-hole shows that they cannot be earlier than the phase at which the Henge stones were removed from their sockets—presumably Food Vessel times—and their presumptive purpose for full-length inhumations in a small group or cemetery suggests a date late in the prehistoric period. Elongated graves are known in North Britain in the Iron Age, and within this rather vague period covering the first few centuries before and after Christ the Cairnpapple 'Late Graves' may be placed. Although they are orientated east and west, it is very improbable that Early Christian graves would be made on a remote hill-top within an ancient pagan sanctuary.

The Cairnpapple excavations have revealed a remarkable sequence of structures related to religious or funerary rites on the same site. Continuity over a thousand years is virtually proven, from the late Neolithic to the end of the Middle Bronze Age: if the Late Graves are indeed Iron Age this would imply that after an interval of many centuries the site was still regarded as a sacred place suitable for burial at the dawn of the Christian era. For a parallel in continuity we have to turn to Stonehenge, spanning almost exactly the same period, from the late Neolithic Aubrey Holes to the Iron Age 'z and y Holes of the 1st century B.C.

Continuity in barrow-building, with the enlargement and rebuilding of the cairn and its related features, has become well-known to us since the brilliant excavations of Sir Cyril Fox in Wales, but the mixed religious feelings that could desecrate a Henge by taking down its standing stones, and yet carefully build a tomb within its area in such a way as to incorporate one of the earlier features, seem unattested elsewhere in Britain. The relationship of the Food Vessel people to those of the Beaker culture, at Cairnpapple at least, was not one of direct continuity. Whatever part the Henge played in the spiritual life of the Beaker folk in the Lothians, the Food Vessel people approached it from a different point of view. Perhaps it possessed a certain sanctity, enough to render it a desirable place for the burial of a chieftain, but its standing stones were regarded as nothing more than a convenient quarry for kerb-stones.

Not only is the sequence and the continuity of Cairnpapple arresting and unusual, but the individual elements in the various phases of building and reconstruction have

peculiar interest. The Arc of Phase I is a feature without apparent parallels in Britain, but it sets us on our guard against accepting all allegedly half-destroyed stone circles as incomplete monuments. The cremations, and the characteristic bone pin found with one of these, add to the rapidly growing list of cremation cemeteries that can be shown to be pre-Beaker, and provide welcome confirmation of the connexions already suspected between the cultures of Skara Brae and Ronaldsway in North Britain and those represented at Dorchester-on-Thames, Woodhenge and Stonehenge in the south (1). The two axe-fragments of imported rocks, if they belong to this phase, stress the southern connexions.

The finding of the stone-holes of an authentically Stukeleian 'cove' in Scotland was an unexpected as it is important. Here again is a link between Wessex and the Forth basin—the only extant 'coves' are at Avebury and Stanton Drew: undated at the latter site and at least no later than Beaker at the former. It seems almost certain that the now prostrate stones in the centre of Arbor Low are another such 'cove' in ruin, and one recalls that by these stones an extended inhumation burial was in fact found in Mr St. George Gray's excavations (2). Here Cove and Henge seem parts of an indivisible whole, but at Cairnpapple the Cove seems the earlier feature.

But Arbor Low certainly provides the parallel for Cairnpapple in Phase II. The Derbyshire Henge is not only geographically the nearest, but in its general proportions it closely resembles Cairnpapple, though slightly larger, and significantly enough the stones, so far as can be judged from their present fallen condition, were set in an oval and not a circle—a curious feature shared, incidentally, by the posts at Woodhenge. Arbor Low, too, is one of the few Henge monuments set on a hill-top in such a way as to command a wide view, and at Cairnpapple this dominating position is such that from the site can be seen the Bass Rock on the east, and the mountains of Arran on the west, while to north and south the view is bounded by the Highlands and the Lammermuirs.

The construction of Phase II at Cairnpapple gives one the immediate impression of the work of people unaccustomed to a land of hard rocks. It was indeed lucky for its builders that the rock of the hill-top was sufficiently rotted to be, in its way, not much more difficult than hard chalk to dig into—the digging of the Cairnpapple ditch cannot have been such a task as the sheer quarrying in the limestone necessary at Arbor Low. But at Arbor Low the stones seem to have been set up in the shallowest of sockets, if these were dug at all, whereas at Cairnpapple the stone-holes were always well-cut and often surprisingly deep. The two graves containing Beaker interments, too, were dug in a manner peculiarly reminiscent of graves of similar date in southern England, and seem to be unique in Scotland, where the stone-slabbed cist is ubiquitous among the recorded Beaker burials.

In both Phase I and Phase II, in fact, connexions with the south are apparent. But with the change to funerary intent on the site, and the building of the Food Vessel cairn of Phase III, we are clearly dealing with a people familiar with the country and building in the traditions proper to it. If, as seems inevitable, the Henge was dismantled in this phase, it can only be as the result of a decisive break in religious tradition. If the Food Vessel folk have claims to be regarded as the inheritors of an ancient Neolithic culture within the Peterborough family (as their pottery and certain of their flint types so strongly suggest), then at Cairnpapple at least they are establishing themselves after a relatively short period of Beaker domination has come to an end. The Food Vessel

¹ Cf. Dr J. F. S. Stone's analysis in *Antiq. Journ.* XXVIII (1948), 149-56.

² *Arch.* LVIII (1903), 461-98.

cairn built on top of the Henge bank at Arbor Low suggests a similar state of affairs. Like the early Christian missionaries, they destroyed the *fana idolorum*, but re-consecrated the site to their own ends, and, pulling down the old temple, used its stones to wall in the tomb of a chieftain built over the dedicatory burial of the earlier and alien shrine.

The enlargement of this cairn follows a practice familiar to us from many sites in both the Lowland and the Highland Zones of Britain. Barrow IV at Beaulieu (3) in the New Forest is a good example from the south, with an original ditched mound of turves, 40 feet in diameter and covering a Food Vessel burial, later enlarged to 85 feet in diameter at some undetermined period before the Early Iron Age. At Sutton, Glamorganshire, (4) and Talbenny, Pembrokeshire (5), barrows of the Beaker period were enlarged to accommodate each a single Middle Bronze Age cremated interment: at the latter site the new kerb was made by removing the stones from the earlier mound, and Fox comments on 'the decay of the fine traditions of craftsmanship in the structural use of unwrought stone . . . as the Bronze Age developed'. Such a remark is very apposite when comparing the two kerbs at Cairnpapple, with the massive carefully-placed stones of the Food Vessel cairn contrasting with the haphazard collection of boulders that grace the edge of the Middle Bronze Age enlargement.

The two cremated burials call for little comment, except for the deposit of occupation soil made over and around the pot in No. 2. This feature recalls the deposit of 'occupation soil' recognized by Phillips in the Giants Hills Long Barrow in Lincolnshire (6), and may well have occurred elsewhere in Bronze Age burials, and lurk disguised under the familiar 'black unctuous earth' of early barrow-digging accounts.

If the graves of Phase v are to be attributed to the Iron Age, one can only note, with all reserve, other evidence of an interest in Henge Monuments at this period to which Mr C. E. Stevens first drew attention (7), and of which Stonehenge affords the most striking example. The Geographer of Ravenna, copying, in the Dark Ages, lists of names off a map of the Roman Empire, included among those upon or near the line of the Antonine Wall, *ubi et ipsa Britannia plus angustissima de Oceano in Oceano esse dinoscitur*, a *Medio Nemeton*—the Middle Sanctuary (8). Standing on Cairnpapple Hill on a clear day, with a view that virtually does stretch across Britain from sea to sea, one is tempted to wonder whether the two-thousand year old shrine still retained some vestiges of sanctity among the Iron Age Celts who may have been buried within its hallowed circuit.

³ *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* IX (1943), 1-27.

⁴ *Arch.* LXXXIX (1943), 89-126.

⁵ *Arch. Journ.* XCIX (1943), 1-32.

⁶ *Arch.* LXXXV (1936), 37-106.

⁷ *Oxoniensia* V (1940), 166-7. Cf. *ANTIQUITY* XV (1941), 305-19.

⁸ *Cosmographia*, ed. Pinder and Parthey, Berlin 1860, 434-5. The identification of the sites, ten in number, said to be *recto tramite una alteri connexae* is by no means easy. Cf. Macdonald, *Roman Wall in Scotland* (2nd Edn. 1934), 189-90, for the problem.

Roots and Origins: a review*

by E. G. R. TAYLOR

THE late Mr Thomas Burke was well known for his popular writings on London life, and the phrases employed by literary reviewers of his earlier works are precisely applicable to his *English Townsman*: 'it swarms with rare and amusing pictures,' 'it is a mine of out-of-the-way facts.' A man of strong prejudices, Mr Burke was accustomed to see what he expected to see, factory workers, for example, to this day commencing toil at 6 a.m. while their employers 'roll-up in their cars at about eleven.' Nevertheless he is concerned to emphasize the wholly laudable thesis that it is just as 'natural' for men to live in towns as in villages. Yet his supporting arguments are not always very happy, as when he cites the Victorian sociologist, Henry Mayhew, who had worked out (and mapped) the geographical incidence of crime. It seems that while total criminality did not vary, the townsman was addicted merely to burglary, larceny, forgery, pocket-picking and shop-lifting, while the countryman specialized in crimes 'of the kind named unmentionable' (which incidentally included illegitimacy). And after all, says Mr Burke 'burglary and thieving are fairly wholesome and quite natural activities.' Many of our towns, so he thought, were at least as old as our villages, for 'when [man] rose from savagery it was instinctive in him to gather with his fellows for mutual protection, for the exchange of knowledge and for the sharing of experience'. Such an opinion may pass muster in a book which, in point of fact, makes very entertaining light reading. But unfortunately it is the kind of opinion that is very widespread, and in particular our Planners, like Mr Burke, have never read their Gordon Childe. Build some houses, add a so-called 'trading-estate' (actually a congeries of small factories), 'decant' the 'over-spill' of some growing city into the houses and 'steer' some industrialists (or bribe them) into the factories: there is your recipe for a New Town. The habit of studying present-day cities in their functional aspects, and of examining the relationship between function and geographical situation has not yet spread from the geographers to the borough engineers, borough surveyors and county architects who form the corps d'élite of physical Planners; still less of course do these experts probe with the archaeologist and the historian into the problem of the roots and origins of urban life. In the United States there is evidence of a wider vision, and if the young men and women reading philosophy, history and economics at Oxford together with their contemporaries reading mathematics and physics at Cambridge were even to flit through just the Syllabus and Maps of the Chicago course in Anthropology described by the Editor in the September number of *ANTIQUITY*, our future governing classes might be in a better position to resolve the antithesis between Plato and Karl Marx.

The most significant geographical element in the rise of civilization has always been accessibility: particularly accessibility by water. For this implies a limited and

* *The English Townsman*, by Thomas Burke. Batsford Books. 12s 6d net. *Water Transport Origins and Early Evolution*, by James Hornell. Cambridge University Press. 30s net. *Outline of English Architecture*, by A. H. Gardiner. B. T. Batsford Ltd. 12s 6d net. *English Church Monuments, 1510-1840*, by Katherine A. Esdaile. B. T. Batsford Ltd. 21s net. *Stained Glass in Somerset, 1250-1830*, by Christopher Woodforde. Oxford University Press, Geoffrey Cumberlege. 42s net. *A Millennium of Facts in the History of Horsham and Sussex, 947-1947*, by William Albery, Horsham.

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canalized movement and approach (which can therefore be controlled), the limiting factor being the capacity to produce a 'sufficient ship'. Mr Hornell's *Water Transport, Origins and Early Evolution* provides an admirable and invaluable guide to man's conquest of waterways, for the author's professional life as Marine Biologist and Fishery Officer, especially in the Indian Ocean and the East brought an extraordinary range of primitive craft under his direct observation. He lets no detail of their construction escape him and he is, besides, the acknowledged authority on the coracles and currachs of the British Isles. He treats the subject analytically, under three major groups:—A, Floats, rafts and kindred craft (which include the Egyptian reed boat and the Chinese junk); B, Skin-boats, coracles, currachs, kayaks and their kin; C, Bark canoes, dug-outs and plank-built craft.

With Mesopotamia and its earliest cities in mind, it is natural to turn to the descriptions of craft used on the Euphrates and Tigris. Here are still to be seen the buoyed rafts of antiquity, and the *quffa* described by Herodotus, a skin-covered coracle of coiled basketry. At the present day the famous bitumen of Hit replaces the cover of hide, while Mr Hornell also describes a raft of reeds, tied tightly at either end and smeared with bitumen, such as was referred to by Strabo and noted by Layard on bas-reliefs. A fourth type is a large and deep boat of wicker-work on a skeleton of poles which is pitched within and without and seems for all the world the very ark that Noah was ordered to build. Such craft are said to run up to twenty tons burden. The question arises, from which of these river types (if any) did the Sumerians develop a sea-going vessel for their trade with Oman? We are familiar with the rôle of the Red Sea corridor: favoured by its accommodating seasonal winds, by its shape, size and orientation, it facilitated the voyages of the great sailing ships which linked Egypt with Punt. The Persian Gulf provides a closely analogous 'nursery' ante-room to the ocean, but as to the manner of its first use we have no evidence.

Every conceivable floating object appears to have provided the idea for some kind of boat. Even the wise men of Gotham who went to sea in a bowl were not the innovators we had supposed, nor we ourselves when in childhood we essayed the pond in a tub. It is in Eastern Bengal that the net-work of sluggish waterways across a soft mud can safely be navigated in a 'vessel' made by the village potter. As to the skin-boat with wicker-work frame, Mr Hornell suggests that it was possibly noticed that a skin with up-turned edges would float and to this an inner frame-work was added. But surely such a floating skin would be very unusual whereas a basket of reed or wicker-work might often be seen floating and bobbing upon the water. For basketry is a very ancient craft indeed. The 'ark' in which his mother hid the little Moses was a covered reed basket which she took the precaution to smear with pitch before trusting the baby to the water.

The world map with which this well-documented volume closes shows the present and recent distribution of the main types of primitive craft. It would be most interesting if Mr Hornell could set beside it a companion map showing the maximum extension of these types in antiquity as indicated by history and archaeology. The bark canoe in Asia, for example, is used no further west than the Ob, but surely the boats that (as related to King Alfred by Othere) the 'Queenes' carried on their backs when they crossed the Scandinavian watershed from the east to harry the Northmen, must have been of this type? (1)

¹ Here is an opportunity, with Mr Hornell as guide, for the National Maritime Museum to build up a genetic exhibit of boat models. At present it is centred too closely on the old-fashioned notion of 'relics' and 'specimens' to meet the needs of the serious student.

To turn from *Water Transport* to the next three books under review is to enter another world. Boats have developed in response to urgent necessities of transport. Architecture, stained glass and church monuments, too, have their origins in human needs, the need for a home, the need for reassurance when confronted with death. But it is not the origins, but the end-products that these authors consider, and that solely as art forms. The two Batsford books, the *History of English Architecture*, and *English Church Monuments* 1510-1840 are beautifully illustrated and eminently readable. In the latter, Mrs Esdaile definitely breaks new ground. Mr Christopher Woodforde's *Stained Glass in Somerset*, 1250-1830, with its magnificent plates, many in colour, is in a different category, a work of mature scholarship intended for the expert. All three writers are dealing with crafts, but the actual craftsman is strangely elusive. Elusive, that is to say until he steps up in the social scale and becomes the modern sculptor, architect or artist. Mrs Esdaile is wholeheartedly for power and place, and her book is urbanely and learnedly introduced by Mr Osbert Sitwell, apostle of the baroque. The reviewer, reflecting on these adornments of churches in relation to the masses who knew no other picture or picture book, cannot avoid the conclusion that the English Reformation emptied out the baby with the bath. A fifteenth century window at Banwell has an endearing representation of an actual baby being actually bathed in the great cauldron slung over the fire which served at other times to boil up the pease-porridge or seethe the meat. It illustrates the story of a pious mother who hurrying off to Mass quite forgot where she had left her infant; whereupon 'the water waxed hot, and then began to boil, to wallop and to roar'. But when she rushed back the baby was not boiled as she expected; he had not even changed colour, but was playing with the bubbles! What a loss for the village child when in place of pictured miracles such as this he had only 'heraldic glass' to ponder upon. The craftsmen, too, had to adapt their cartoons, patterns and traditional models to the new values. The long waved tresses and naïve loveliness of the Madonna had to be transferred to the effigy of some middle-aged Countess lying on her tomb, and copied half-a-dozen times over in her row of kneeling daughters. The Holy Babe was re-shaped to represent some sprig of nobility or royalty who died in infancy. Instead of the moving picture of the Entombment with a tortured Saviour, and a Mother's face twisted and ugly with grief, the child at church gazed at a sculptured group representing the death-bed of a young gentleman of family. Handsomely dressed and with composed though serious faces, the seated parents watch their son expiring while apparently in the pink of health, and with not a curl or a shirt-pleat awry. Cherubs, too, who had mysteriously existed with only a torso found themselves transformed into cupids with pretty rounded bottoms. Yet these little fellows might be interesting, such for example as the two leaning gravely intent from some solid marble clouds and trying to fit a too-small heavenly crown on to the immense peruke of a self-important gentleman who seems unaware of what is going on.

Sometimes, rather to Mrs Esdaile's disgust, the lower orders, too, purchased ornate monuments. But heredity will out. Unlike the exquisite little aristocrats who sprang from lords and ladies, the poor mommet whose father was 'in trade' is discernible even on its tomb as 'a really vulgar babe', though dead too young either to lisp or toddle. As it happens a noble viscount lies in sculptured state in the Church at Chipping Campden. His monument is not reproduced here, but no doubt the authoress has seen it. Did she recognize, beneath the coronet, a former plain Mr Baptist Hicks, the Elizabethan money-lender?

Mr William Albery who writes lovingly of Horsham brings us back to the townsman again, but inhabiting this time the small country town. He himself is appropriately

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enough a master-saddler, for we have it on the highest authority that Horsham is simply and literally Horse-ham. Named in a Saxon Charter of A.D. 947 this ancient borough has the usual broken series of records—a fifteenth century Manor Roll, a seventeenth century manorial survey, the minutes of a Court Leet, enclosure awards and the like. But it was also an Assize Town, and housed the Sussex County Gaol, and so Mr Albery has a long tale to tell of English justice and injustice, crime and cruelty. Six chapters are devoted to the labourers' distress and violence in the 30's, and Horsham folk can reflect that these were their own great-grandfathers who were hanging young farm-hands (encouraged to do so by Lord Melbourne himself) made desperate by a wage level of 4s to 6s a week. Of course this did not only happen at Horsham, but history comes home to us if it is our home history. And Mr Albery's fellow townsmen have shown their appreciation of his long years of research by subscribing for the publication of these annals of a fragment of Sussex. Horsham had its roots and had its function. 'Tyme out of mynde,' declared the jury of burgesses in 1611, the yearly fair and the weekly market had been held and the tolls collected by the Corporation. Towns do not 'spring up' at random, nor can they be conjured into existence by decree. They are a natural growth as 'Man makes himself'.

Notes and News

CAVE-MAN IN FRANCE

The following note records the finding of what Mr Movius calls 'the most important human fossil to be exhumed in France during recent times'. We are allowed to reprint it from the *American Anthropologist* (Vol. 50, No. 2, April-June, 1948, 365-7) by courtesy of the Editor and of Mr Movius:—

During August 1947, the remains of a new and extremely important fossil man were discovered in Central France by Mlle. Germaine Henri-Martin at the Cave of Fontéchevade (Charente) (1). Previous digging at this site by various archaeologists had revealed the existence there of a series of horizons, the industries of which range from the Mousterian to the Magdalenian. Underlying the Mousterian layer a firm stalagmite floor had until recently discouraged further investigations.

This same thick stalagmite floor was traced to the slope in front of the cave, where Mlle. Henri-Martin has succeeded in penetrating it with significant results. The underlying deposits, which present a maximum thickness of some seven metres, are composed of red, sandy clay and earth; this stratum contains flint implements in direct association with a warm temperate fauna. According to the excavator, the implements have been examined by the Abbé H. Breuil, who considers them to be the same as those found by him in the lowest archaeological horizon at La Micoque, and known as the Tayacian (2).

The fauna is characterized by the following forms: *Rhinoceros (Dicerorhinus) merckii*, *Dama* sp., *Hyaena* sp., *Cuon*, *Testudo groeca* (3), etc. The forms represented, as well as their climatic implications, confirm a Third Interglacial dating for the deposit in question.

Mlle. Henri-Martin, whose systematic and meticulous excavation technique has been commented on by several competent observers, states that the objects from the basal horizon at the Cave of Fontéchevade occur for the most part in pockets, where bones and flints are normally associated. It was in one of these pockets at a depth of 2.60 metres below the surface of the ground and 70 centimetres below the base of the undisturbed stalagmite floor that the fossil human remains came to light.

The main find consists of an incomplete cranial vault, including the following articulated bones: part of the frontal, the two parietals, and part of the left temporal. Among the detached fragments found nearby, there is also a portion of an occipital, apparently of the same individual.

This partially complete brain-case, which was in an extremely fragile condition when first brought to light, had to be hardened before it could be disengaged from its matrix of red earth. Dr H. Vallois, the results of whose preliminary observations have just

¹ Henri-Martin (Mlle.), Germaine. 'L'Homme fossile Tayacien de la Grotte de Fontéchevade,' *Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Sciences*, T. 225, pp. 766-7. Paris, October 27, 1947.

² Breuil (Abbé), H. 'Le Paléolithique ancien en Europe occidentale et sa Chronologie', *Bull. Soc. Préhist. Française*, Vol. 29, No. 12, pp. 570-8, 1932; Henri-Martin (Mlle.), Germaine. 'Note préliminaire sur un Niveau Tayacien dans la Station préhistorique de Fontéchevade (Charente)', *Ibid.*, Vol. 43, Nos. 5-6, pp. 179-182, 1946.

³ Henri-Martin (Mlle.), Germaine. 'Une Tortue fossile dans la vallée de Fontéchevade (Charente)', *Ibid.*, Nos. 3-4, pp. 86-87, 1946.

been published (4), states that it is a small-sized vault, and that it can have belonged only to an adult. It is of average length, but the breadth measurement is very low; it has the general ellipsoid form of a pronounced dolichocephal. The bones themselves are thick and robust, but not to a pronounced degree. Dr Vallois further states that, although the lower portion of the frontal is missing, the segment that remains does not lead one to suspect that the individual represented could have possessed brow-ridges of Neanderthaloid type.

The absence of the supra-orbital portion of the frontal bone of Fontéchevade No. 1 is in large measure compensated for by the fact that the fragmentary remains of a second cranium (Fontéchevade No. 11) include the glabella region and a small portion of the upper internal border of the left orbit. These latter remains were found in the same horizon and at a distance of approximately three metres from the sealed pocket that contained individual No. 1. According to Dr Vallois, the glabella region of Fontéchevade No. 11 is scarcely raised, while the upper border of the orbit presents a sharp, acute angle. Indeed there is nothing whatsoever that even remotely recalls the massive supra-orbital crest, so characteristic a feature of Neanderthal Man. On the other hand, with respect to the morphology of the partially complete frontal bone of individual No. 11, they conform absolutely with a fossil *Homo sapiens* type of man, in the opinion of Dr Vallois.

There can be no question concerning the fact that these finds were *in situ* when discovered by Mlle. Henri-Martin: they come from an undisturbed horizon sealed below a thick, unbroken and continuous layer of stalagmite that underlies the Mousterian level at this locality. Furthermore, the fauna demonstrates that these deposits were accumulated under conditions of the warm temperate climate of Third Interglacial times. And the archaeological material is definitely older than the Mousterian from a typological point of view. The essential point is, however, that this is the first time that Lower Palaeolithic fossil human bones have been discovered in France in a clearly dated stratum. Not only does this evidence further confirm the implications of the physical type represented by the even older (Second Interglacial) Swanscombe Man (and presumably Piltown and Galley Hill as well), but it may be accepted as further proof that prior to the Würm 1 Glacial Stage, a race of men with definitely non-Neanderthaloid-type skull vaults was living in Western Europe. But, as Dr Vallois has commented, to date we do not possess any very satisfactory evidence concerning to what extent these pre-Neanderthal Europeans exhibited primitive characteristics, with the exception of the brain case. Certainly that they were of fundamentally modern type with respect to the latter feature can no longer be denied, even by the most profound sceptics.

HALLAM L. MOVIUS, JR.

EXCAVATION OF A CHEVIOT HILL-FORT

The excavation of Hownam Rings, a hill-fort in Roxburghshire, was directed for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland by Mrs C. M. Piggott, F.S.A. The site is 1000 feet up on the northern slopes of the Cheviots, and proved to be of four periods, within the Early Iron Age and the Roman period.

The earliest structure was a palisade trench containing post-holes packed round with stones and indicating that a fence of wooden posts each approximately 6 inches in diameter and probably laced together with some form of hurdling, had enclosed the

⁴ Vallois, H. V. 'Un Homme fossile Tayacien en Charente', *L'Anthropologie*, T. 51, Nos. 3-4, pp. 373-4. November 1947.

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south side of the hill. It had evidently been found necessary to replace this fence by another similar one a short time after its first construction. It was not possible to date this early phase but it is probable that it lies within the 1st century B.C.

The second phase was marked by the hill top being enclosed by a defensive stone wall some 12 feet across at the bottom and presumably standing to an original height of eight or nine feet at least. This fort was provided with two entrances, one on the north (not proved by excavation) and one on the south which was cleared in the excavation this year, when it was found to have been blocked with stones which included the lower stone of a quern of 1st century type. The closing of this entrance marked the beginning of the third phase of occupation, when the old wall defence was considered obsolete and was lowered in height and incorporated in a sloping rubble rampart, the material for which was partly obtained from a ditch. At the same time additional concentric lines of ramparts and ditches were added all round, and a new entrance made further down the slope and to the southwest of the wall fort entrance. It seems likely that this modification from single to multiple defences may have been made under the direction of political refugees from the south fleeing north before the Romans.

But these defences were short-lived. For we find the fourth phase, already established by the mid 3rd century A.D., was one of peaceful settlement, and circular stone-built huts were constructed partly over the now-obsolete rampart. A large quantity of coarse native pottery was found in the two huts excavated, and other associated finds included Roman sherds of the mid 3rd century A.D. and a blue glass bead and a fragment of a yellow and white glass armlet of approximately the same date.

It seems likely that this sequence is typical of many Border forts as yet unexcavated, but which show surface indications of a similar history.

This excavation served as a training centre in excavation technique for students under the Scottish Field School of Archaeology's scheme for practical instruction in field-work. At Hownam Rings, in fact, the entire labour force was provided by students, often working under very trying weather conditions.

A full report will appear in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*.

URN-FIELDS AND VITAL STATISTICS

It is the purpose of this brief note to direct attention to work recently carried out in Sweden on the determination of the age and sex of cremated human remains. The investigations have been carried out by Dr Nils-Gustaf Gejvall of Stockholm (1). The material comprised some two hundred cremation burials forming an urn-field cemetery of La Tène III Age in the parish of Horn in Västergötland. By careful and minute examination of every scrap of material, including the use of Röntgen photographs, and by the employment of biometric analysis, Dr Gejvall claims to be able to identify adult males, adult females and children and young persons and within these categories to assign individuals to their appropriate age-groups. How far his results can be accepted at their face value only an expert in these matters can say, but the objective manner in which Dr Gejvall has explained his methods and the fullness of the biometric tables appended to his report inspire confidence in the layman. This is enhanced by the knowledge that Dr Gejvall has tested his methods by reference to a hundred and one cremations of persons of known age and sex from two modern crematoria, and further, as

¹ 'Gravfältet på Kyrkbacken i Horns Socken, Västergötland II. Antropologisk Del', *Kungl. Vitt. Hist. och Antikv. Akad. Handl.*, del. 60:2. Stockholm, 1948. Cf. the same author's 'Bestämning av brända ben från forntida gravar', *Fornvännen*, 1947.

regards the sexing of adults, by the confirmation given by such diagnostic grave-goods (e.g. swords) as were found in the Horn cemetery.

The theoretical importance of this line of inquiry is evident, since it opens up the possibility of recovering vital statistics bearing on the age-composition and expectation of life of prehistoric populations, and on the size of individual communities, for the long and crucial periods during which urn-field burial prevailed over extensive parts of Europe. The practical implications are also important. In future the excavator can no longer content himself with emptying out the ashes and removing the odd bead, comb or brooch, or he may be guilty of pouring away data from which modern science can extract the vital statistics of pre- and proto-historic communities. Conversely, it may be suggested, we have here a most promising field for co-operative research by physical anthropologists and archaeologists. In the past too much energy was lavished on ethnic determinations and not nearly enough on the sociological data to be won from a study of human physical remains. This tendency has been corrected lately, particularly in connexion with collective burials in chambered tombs (2), and Dr Gejvall's work would seem very greatly to expand the possibilities by bringing within the range of determination peoples who burned their dead as well as those who interred them.

GRAHAME CLARK.

RECENT DISCOVERIES IN AZARBAIJAN

Twelve years ago Sir Aurel Stein carried out a small excavation at Hasanlu, close to the southwest corner of the Lake of Urmia, now called Rezaïyyeh. At that excavation he obtained material of the end of the second millennium, and this he published in his 'Ancient routes in western Iran'. His collection of material has been considerably augmented by the British excavations of the summer of 1948 at Geoy Tepe, close to Rezaïyyeh, an ancient site mentioned by Lehmann-Haupt in his 'Armenien, einst und jetzt'. The work, which was partly financed by the British School of Archaeology in Iraq, was very considerably aided by the kind assistance and co-operation of the Iranian authorities.

The top of the Tepe is about eighty feet above the spring of water close to its foot, but the level of virgin soil on which it is built may, of course, be a little higher than the level of the spring. The main shaft dug descended forty-four feet in the time granted for the work—six weeks—and at the lowest level reached produced red polished ware, the only shapes being straight-sided bowls. Above this level was one in which there were very large buildings, of which not very much could be traced in the shaft, which at that depth measured 22 by 24 feet in area. The pottery here was similar to the Al Ubaid ware of Iraq, though the shapes recovered are unusual. Seal impressions and minor objects of stone and metal were also found in this level. The stratum above contained grey polished ware, decorated with rather elaborate motifs in relief, which are placed just below the neck of the vessel. The spiral appears in these motifs. In this same stratum were found models of long-horned cattle, and bone gaming pieces. So far as is known at present there are no parallels between this grey polished pottery and that of the Astrabad area, to the southeast of the Caspian Sea, except in the colour; but some other grey wares have been found at Tabriz, which may perhaps prove to be closer to the Shah Tepe fabrics. They have not yet been unpacked for study. The next stratum was much thicker than those below, and contained black polished wares of a homogeneous type. Bowls and jars were found, with rather elaborate handles and a curious type of decoration consisting of a horizontal line of flat circular depressions, about a centimetre across,

² e.g. Lanhill Long Barrow. See *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, 1938, 131 ff.

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alternating with a diagonal incised line. The effect is oddly like the circles joined by a diagonal line which is fairly frequently found as decoration on Early Aegean pottery. Above this stratum was one virtually barren, and then one in which pottery of late Susa II type occurred, and polychrome ware. Still higher were fragments of the elaborately spouted tea-pots already known as coming from this area, and published in Stein's book mentioned above.

The polychrome ware was considered important, and several small shafts were dug in an effort to locate more examples. These were successful. The material, which has connexions with both Susa II ware and with the polychrome wares of Anatolia (Alishar III ware), is mostly dark on light, though one example of polychrome on black, in white and red paints, was also found. Several tombs were also found, dating from this period, and a considerable quantity of pottery, but only red polished and monochrome, and necklaces and bronzes, were recovered therefrom. A small smithy was discovered, and pieces of metal ores, including iron, may prove to yield interesting results after analysis. In one of the tombs a pot, possibly of iron, was found. Magnificent obsidian arrow heads were also found, some with the same shape as those found many years ago by De Morgan on the Caspian coast. The people of this type were dolichocephalic.

In strata later than that of the polychrome pottery there was found ware, usually polished, and red or black in colour, but without decoration. Shapes included beak-spouted vessels of tea-pot shape, as published by Sir Aurel Stein. The cemetery of this period also was discovered, but there was no opportunity to do more than open one of the tombs, a stone-built chamber with slightly corbelled walls, containing a considerable quantity of pottery—dishes, jars and cups, and bronzes and beads. It seems likely that the date of this material is of the later part of the second millennium. Still later in date is a mass of rather rougher pottery, usually red, or dark grey. A characteristic of this ware is roughly incised decoration, and another is the frequent appearance of elaborate handles, sometimes in the form of animals' heads, but also of more usual shape, adorned with knobs and thumb-pieces on the top, a type of handle common in Cyprus during the Bronze Age. This pottery is, maybe, of about the close of the second millennium.

The finds, which have only just arrived in England, will be put on view during the next few months, probably in Oxford. They are, almost in their entirety, in England, and we can be very grateful to the Iranian Department of Antiquities for having made so generous a gesture as to permit their export which, by keeping them together, facilitates to the highest degree the study of the early civilizations of Azarbaijan.

T. BURTON BROWN.

ARTHUR'S BATTLE OF BREGUOIN

One of the twelve battles said by Nennius, chapter 56, to have been won by King Arthur over the Saxons was *bellum in monte qui dicitur Agned*, according to most of the manuscripts; in spite of various efforts at identification Agned remains unknown. But one group, consisting of the Vatican Reg. 1946 MS, 11th century, and the Paris MS Lat. 11108, 12th century, which represent a recension of Nennius made in the year 944 (the 'Vatican Recension'), do not give Mons Agned at all. Instead they have a different battle, *bellum in monte qui nominatur Breguoin* (Paris MS *Breuoin*), . . . *quem nos cat Bregon appellamus*. This has been identified with Kirkby Thore, Brougham, Leintwardine, and other places; the first two are impossible, and the third only possible if we emend to Breguein and Breuein, as I have shown in *Modern Philology* XLIII (1945) pp. 52 ff. At that time I could propose no solution, and was inclined to think that Breguoin-Breuoin (the two are merely variant and equivalent Old Welsh spellings of the

same name), and the *Bregomion* given by some MSS as a gloss on Agned, all represented a corruption of an original **Breguoinion*. But it now seems possible that Breguoin-Breuoin can be identified, and is therefore a real place. If so, it must be that the compiler of the Vatican recension substituted Breguoin or Breuoin for Agned; that he glossed it with *Cat Bregon*, 'The Battle of the Uplands', possibly another traditional battle which he considered to be the same; and that those late MSS which give *Bregomion* as a gloss on Mons Agned obtained it from a corrupt copy of the Vatican recension.

After the publication of the article referred to, Mr P. K. Johnstone kindly reminded me of the *kat gellawr Brewyn*, 'the battle of the cells (or "storehouses", or "chapels") of Brewyn', Book of Taliesin p. 61, ll. 16-17. This is given in the poem as one of the battles of Urien of Rheged, along with *kat yn ryt Alclut*, 'the battle in the ford of Dumbarton', and others. Now, Middle Welsh Brewyn might very well be spelt in Old Welsh as Breguoin or Breuoin (the *gu* is an Old Welsh spelling for *u=w*), and it seems most likely that they mean the same place; either that Arthur and Urien happened to fight a battle at one and the same site, or (which appears more probable) that a traditional battle of ancient legend was ascribed now to Arthur, now to Urien. In either case, since Urien was involved, the place was somewhere in the North.

Old Welsh Breguoin or Breuoin, Middle Welsh Brewyn, would most naturally represent a British **Brevēnium* (not Bravēnium, as I stated by an oversight in the above-mentioned article). No such name is known. But occasionally a Primitive Welsh *v*, from British or Latin *b* or *m*, became lost before the diphthong *ui* (older *ē*). Thus Latin *habēna* became Old Welsh **avuin*, whence first **awuin*, then **awyn*, and then the modern *awen*; or *Samuēl* became Old Welsh **Savuil*, spelt *Samuil* in the Old Welsh Genealogies (10th century), later **Sawuil*, spelt *Sauuil* in the Life of St. Cadog (end of the 11th century), whence Middle Welsh *Sawyl*. Applying this to Brewyn and Breguoin-Breuoin, it might very well represent a form with *-wui-* from Primitive Welsh **Brevuin*, and indeed the *-guoi-* and *-uoi-* particularly favour this. Whether *-vui-* could have become *-wui-* so early as A.D. 944 is not proven, the examples otherwise known to me belonging to the 12th and end of the 11th centuries; but there seems no good reason to doubt it. If so, however, the Vatican recension compiler's source is likely to have been a contemporary oral rather than an old written one; probably a recited poem.

Accepting this **Brewuin* from **Brevuin*, it would come from a British **Brebēnio-* or **Bremēnio-*. The former is unknown, but the latter is surely the Romano-British Brementium, High Rochester on the Border. Anyone who knows High Rochester will realize that the gloss 'The Battle of the Uplands' is very apt. As to the 'cells of Brewyn', might these not be the ruined foundations and cellars of the Roman fort? The site is a strategic one, and more than one battle may well have been fought there. Further, it would be very well suited to a fight by Urien against the Saxons; and those who believe Arthur was a champion of the North will find support for their view in this identification.

KENNETH JACKSON.

Reviews

NUBIAN TREASURE. By WALTER B. EMERY. *Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1948.*
x+72 pages, 10 text figures, 48 gravure plates. 10×6½ inches. Price 30 shillings.

This book is a well-illustrated account of the remarkable discovery, some eighteen years ago, of the tombs of the Nubian kings of the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. at Ballana and Qustul, a little to the north of the Egypt-Sudan boundary. At the time of this discovery Mr Emery was Director of the Archaeological Survey of Nubia, and the present volume is an abridgment of his official report of the excavation. 'It is', says the author in his preface, 'not in any way intended for the archaeologist, or even for the amateur in archaeological research, for it has been written entirely for the layman who may have an interest in ancient history and the materials of which it is made'. Mr Emery goes on to comment on the somewhat sensational publicity which the modern Press sometimes gives to discoveries in the archaeological field—and from which his own discoveries were not exempt—but he considers that this reflects the growing interest of the public in history and the lessons it can teach, and that some attempt should be made to satisfy this interest. He continues: 'Archaeology and history remain, to a large extent, the interest of a few, and I feel that the science has little right to existence unless its fruits are made easily accessible to the layman'.

With such sentiments there will be much more general agreement among archaeologists than might have been possible some years ago. We are all of us, nowadays, being made increasingly aware of basic economic facts, and, to bring the matter to its lowest level, the archaeologist cannot reasonably expect to be fed and clothed by the community unless its more intelligent members are convinced they are receiving something of value in return. Yet, however widely the archaeologist may wish to disseminate the results of his work, he can, in practice, make them accessible only to the layman who is prepared to read, and even to buy, what the libraries call 'non-fictional' books. The publishers of *Nubian Treasure*, at any rate, have envisaged a layman sufficiently interested in history and archaeology to be prepared to pay thirty shillings for a book which can be read at a sitting.

Now it is to be doubted if the correct approach to a layman of this kind is to impress upon him at the outset that he is being offered something beneath the notice of the serious archaeologist, even though the disclaimer may be intended to disarm professional criticism. The reader may somewhat resentfully feel that he is being written down to and that his intelligence is being underestimated. A method which would more nearly approach the ideal would be to produce books which would deserve the respect of layman and professional alike. This is by no means impossible. The layman, it is true, cannot be expected to buy and read detailed excavation reports, nor can there be any relaxation of professional standards in regard to their preparation. There is, however, nothing esoteric about them; they are unreadable as literature because they are primarily and essentially works of reference intended for all time. They neither excite nor satisfy public interest because they do not usually appear for years—in extreme cases half a lifetime—after the excavations they put on record. A preliminary report is a different matter. If such a report, giving a first-hand, authoritative, general

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account of the discoveries made could be published promptly in book form, instead of (as often at present) in a technical or museum journal, it would be exactly the sort of book the present reviewer has in mind. It would satisfy, without condescension, public interest at a time when that interest was aroused, and it would meet the immediate needs of most archaeologists. For those of the latter who were concerned with some branch of archaeology other than that dealt with, but who wished to keep abreast of progress in fields outside their own, the book would suffice, while the interested specialist could await with dignity the publication of the detailed and final report, which would find its resting place on his library shelves. Further, such a book would probably show a profit to its publisher.

Except that, through no fault of the author, it appears somewhat late, *Nubian Treasure* is very nearly a book of this kind, but it falls short of complete success because Mr Emery could apparently not quite decide to which section of the public he should address himself. The title might, perhaps falsely, suggest that he cast an eye in the direction of the readers of the more sensational newspapers, but it is evident that, once immersed in his task, Mr Emery found himself writing for that more limited, literate public which can read with interest and profit not only an account of the excitement of discovery, but also the outline of the history of Nubia which the book contains.

Despite the criticism which has been made, *Nubian Treasure* can be recommended to all those, laymen or otherwise, who have not had an opportunity of reading the official report of the discoveries with which it deals. The plates, a lavish and impressive series, have been thoughtfully arranged so that a description of each object is printed on the page opposite to the photograph which illustrates it. When so much has been given it might seem ungracious to suggest that an air photograph of the ancient irrigation channels mentioned on p. 42 might usefully have been included. F. ADDISON.

ARCHAEOLOGY: A magazine dealing with the antiquity of the world. *Published quarterly by the Archaeological Institute of America. Printed by T. O. Metcalf Company, Boston, Mass. Subscription \$6 per volume in the U.S.A. Foreign postage \$0.50 additional. Single number \$1.50.*

The first number of this new journal has a celt from Asine as its frontispiece and is then introduced by Dr Sterling Dow in a jocular foreword which leaves the reader in some doubt as to the public to which the journal is appealing. *Archaeology*, he says, 'has a single distinguished ancestor (*Art and Archaeology*) a slightly dubious but popular parent (the *Newsletter*) and two second cousins. One of these cousins, a German, has died. The other is living quietly in England' (not named but presumably *ANTIQUITY*). After alluding to *Archaeology's* respectable but distant British cousin, Dr Dow states that the new journal has no competitor, and makes what seems to me a most unjustified claim that 'no other technical magazine exists which similarly draws upon all the world's archaeology' (unless I have misunderstood his words, which is very possible).

The journal as a whole, however, is much better than its foreword might lead one to suppose. It opens with a pleasant Summary by T. C. Lethbridge of the spectacular Saxon burial at Sutton Hoo (published in *ANTIQUITY*, March 1940), but why does he think the hanging bowl may have been made in Ireland? *Pots' Progress*, by Miss Talcott, describes how the American excavators of the Athenian agora handle their material and tabulate it. All who like myself have been privileged to consult the agora materials under the courteous guidance of Miss Talcott can testify to the ease with which this 'material' can be studied. Glanville Downey describes an interesting Byzantine

exhibition at Baltimore. Particularly exciting are a silver drinking vessel dated about A.D. 1000 belonging to Mr Louis Clarke, and a liturgical treasure of the 6th century found near Hamath. Downey also summarizes the recent progress of Byzantine studies in the U.S.A. The next two items are so short that they are just tantalizing. I hope Mr Healey will write a serious article on the Lacandones and Bonampak. I should also like to hear more about the neo-classical architecture of Ovid, New York, though the subject seems to belong to art rather than to archaeology.

'Ostia' on the Tiber by H. T. Rowell is an excellent summary of the excavations on that site and their historical significance. The most exciting building is a unique 4th century basilica with a baptistery attached, a queer plan and possible associations with St. Augustine and his mother.

Professor Lehmann gives a careful but depressing account of the effect of the war on the antiquities of Samothrace, Mrs Hawkes summarizes briefly recent discoveries in Britain and T. H. Low discusses 'Who uses the archaeological material in American Museums?'.
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The number ends with some interesting news. Dr G. G. MacCurdy deserves a better obituary but perhaps will receive a further one later.

The second number of *Archaeology* bears on its cover a representation of the clay worker from the Metropolitan Museum, and opens with a series of photographs and captions by R. P. Schaedel on the astonishing monolithic sculptures of the Southern Andes. W. F. Grimes gives a good account of an extremely interesting Celtic temple which he excavated at the London airport, situated in an earthwork which has been known since Stukeley's time.

A. E. Raubitschek summarizes the archaeological evidences of ostracism in ancient Athens; five-sixths of the ostraka come from the American excavations on the Agora. After this comes a fascinating account of 'Castles in Zin' the district of Southern Palestine, now called the Negeb, by H. D. Colt, with some beautiful photographs (Fig. 6 is a study in tones). It includes items such as the story of Theodulus, the elaborate water system of the Negeb in early Christian times, and a very good basilica at Sbeita. I should like to hear a lot more about Zin. 'Cluny' shows wooden models of the third church which deserve an article in some later number. J. P. Harland writes a clear and attractive account of 'Life in a Minyan village', but I must protest that he is too clear, and suspect that some of his dogmatism is due to compression. Thus 'the Minyans spoke a dialect of Greek akin to Aeolic which we may call Arkadian' and 'metal—at first copper and then bronze, an alloy of copper and tin—appears to have come into use about 3000 B.C. a little before that in Egypt, and possibly a little later on the mainland of Greece'. I suspect Dr Harland would have qualified such statements more if he had been writing for the *A.J.A.* Nevertheless the general picture is good, and I like his account of the megaron.

Nine celebrated Romans await identification by the reader.

Then follows 'the Man about the Bones' by Mr G. Woodbury, a piece of entertaining journalese. There is no reason why a man should not make fun of his own profession, and I enjoyed the story of Big Charlie, but if Mr Woodbury has guessed correctly the object of this journal, then all the other authors of articles are wrong.

'Snake Dances' by Miss Lawler, is a series of photographs with suggestive captions. The number ends with some brief notices of recent books.

A pleasant feature of the journal for an English reader is the welcome afforded to British news and articles, and I hope that later numbers will extend this courtesy further to news from 'East of Suez'.

R. W. HUTCHINSON.

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THE ATLANTIC ISLANDS: The Faeroe Life and Scene. By KENNETH WILLIAMSON.
Published by Collins, London, 1948. pp. 360, 35 photos, 4 maps.

This must be perhaps the only, certainly the most complete, modern account of the Faroes—that scarcely known group of islands that lies nearly midway between the Shetlands and Iceland. Studied during the enforced leisure of garrison duty during the war, there can be few details about the islands, their inhabitants and their natural history that the author has not here set before us, both in the text and in the appendices which are devoted to lists of mammals, birds, bibliography and glossary. The book is not in any sense archaeological, yet it contains much to interest the student of the past because it records living conditions of human life that have left only traces behind in other European countries. Of special interest are the descriptions of agricultural implements and methods, land tenure, and particularly the harvesting, drying and milling of corn. Customs and folk-lore are also of interest, especially for comparison with those of regions like the Hebrides where Scandinavian elements have been superimposed upon Celtic and earlier strata of the population.

The description of the method of drying the green ears of six-rowed barley (the only local corn) in kilns is important, not only for comparison with the kilns of the Shetlands, Orkneys and Hebrides, but because it will help us to understand the working of the not altogether dissimilar kilns that were used in Roman Britain. The primitive water-mills are also of great interest and are well-described and illustrated. The author regards them as belonging to a northern group distinguishable (along with other Scandinavian mills) from a southern or Mediterranean group, and suggests that the Vikings may have derived them from the Near East rather than from Ireland. But as the Irish mills seem to have belonged to the southern group equally with those of the Near East, this suggestion will not explain the differences of details that distinguish the two groups.

The book is very well written and abounds in delightful word-pictures, though one could wish that some of the descriptions of apparatus, etc., had been clearer. The numerous photographs, many of them from the author's camera, are excellent and succeed in showing very clearly what they are intended to show. E. CECIL CURWEN.

HIMMERLANDS OLDTIDSMINDER. By TH. RAMSKOU. *Published by Jørgensen's Forlag, Copenhagen, 1947. 96 pp. 37 photos, and sketch-map. Price, 5 kr. 75.*

This attractive little book on the prehistoric antiquities of Himmerland in Denmark is written for the benefit of the intelligent Danish public. Himmerland is a district in eastern Denmark lying south of the Limfjord, once virtually an island, and still rather off the beaten track, and it contains a rich collection of prehistoric remains of all kinds, including the well-known Mesolithic sites of Gudena and Ertebølle. The various classes of antiquities—megalithic remains, barrows, house-sites, lynchets, etc.—are well described, and the series is illustrated with 37 full-page photographs which are attractive, informative and well-reproduced. This means that almost every second page in the book is occupied by a good photograph, which is a remarkable achievement and an example to be followed. The author and publisher are to be congratulated.

E. CECIL CURWEN.

AENEAS PONTIFEX. By H. J. ROSE. *Virgilian Essays, No. 2. pp. 28. London, Phoenix Press, 1948. 1s 6d.*

It is not altogether easy to see the reason for the publication of this essay. Its purpose is to examine the question whether Virgil's Aeneas is, as Vettius in Macrobius's *Saturnalia* says, represented as a Pontiff, whether in fact he in any way reflects Augustus

as head of the Roman State religion. The conclusion is of course negative. There is really nothing in the *Aeneid* to show that Virgil meant to represent Aeneas as a Pontiff, and Professor Rose to his credit does not find anything, though he goes to great lengths sometimes in trying to detect some faint shade of pontificality in the hero's conduct on various occasions. The result is not particularly helpful to our understanding of the *Aeneid*: but in the course of his 'rambling discourse', as he himself calls it, the author produces from the vast stores of his learning in these matters a great deal of curious information about the Pontifices and ancient religion in general. For the sake of this the essay is worth reading.

A.H.A.

PRINCIPLES OF ANTHROPOLOGY. By ELIOT DINSMORE CHAPPLE and CARLETON STEVENS COON. *London*, Jonathan Cape, 1947, pp. 718.

The publication of an English edition of Chapple and Coon should save this country quite a lot of dollars, since many readers ought to buy it and these should include archaeologists. For those who would decipher the archaeological record are compelled constantly to have recourse to the ethnographic record in their efforts to bring to life again the illiterate societies of the past. For their needs these *Principles* are particularly well-adapted owing to the prominence given by the authors to technology and 'material culture' in general.

One of the authors is primarily a psychologist while the other is best known as a physical anthropologist. But though the book opens with a concise but lucid account of the physiology of the brain and nervous system followed by a chapter on psychology and 'conditioning', it wastes no space on anthropometry, racial psychology or 'Blut-und-Boden'. Instead we have 200 admirable pages on environment and technology. The importance of the non-human environment is adequately estimated and the main general types satisfactorily characterized in chapter 5. But alone of all animals 'man can survive in all climates. The reason is that he alters his environment to suit his physiology instead of altering his physiology to suit his environment, as is the case with animals who thus become differentiated into numerous species . . . We know that this human versatility . . . was acquired by people practising the simplest known combination of techniques'—a conclusion derived from ethnography that is confirmed by archaeology.

So the authors proceed to a condensed classification and description of technologies. Beginning, like archaeologists, with cutting tools—chipped stone, polished stone, metal—they show how improvements in these are correlated with advances in house-building, body-covering, the food-quest and other economic activities. I have seldom seen the human significance of those favourite archaeological fossils, axes of polished stone and of metal, so well set forth with a commendable economy of words. The ensuing section on house-building is illustrated by a very full description of the construction of a round, pole-walled house among the Ethiopian Galla which gives all the significant details that are too often omitted by 'social' anthropologists (the exact methods of measurement for instance). Though these Ethiopian houses are only 18 feet in diameter, the account can be read with profit by the excavators of the round houses so common in the British Isles.

There follows an account of the techniques of processing food and other raw materials that is valuable not only for its good description of methods of conservation, fermentation, but for its insistence on the importance of preservation itself. 'Food-gatherers' acquainted with effective methods for preserving food may be better placed for the accumulation of a social surplus than 'food-producers' lacking that knowledge. The chapter on transport (which follows the discussion of methods of securing food) is to be

welcomed for the same reason. Incidentally it points out that sleds are more serviceable than wheeled vehicles in damp or rocky environments. The articles on 'Horses and Battle-axes' in *ANTIQUITY*, xv, would have been improved by a perusal of this section. If it be fantastic to imagine Battle-axe folk careering through the swamps and forests of northern Europe in horse-drawn chariots, their steeds may have drawn sleds as they do in the mountains of Norway today over narrow stony tracks impracticable for carts.

Throughout their exposition the authors have been at pains to show to what extent the several processes and techniques described entail the co-operation of individuals or groups. For the aim of their 'operational method', explained in the first chapter, is to formulate as descriptive 'laws' functional relations between variables and so build up a science of human behaviour. Accordingly the description of productive techniques and processes leads inevitably to a discussion of division of labour. Here a very useful distinction is introduced between full-time and part-time specialization, both terms being accurately defined. Division of labour of course involves 'trade', the principal forms of which are summarized in the same chapter. The authors are then enabled to define eight stages of 'technological complexity' ranging from 'Subsistence—no specialization and less than 10 per cent trade' to 'Commercial—all or nearly all persons are full-time specialists, trade approximates (to) or exceeds 90 per cent'.

In part III, 'the Development of Institutions' is nominally built up on the basis of the technological classification reached in part II, but in practice there seems to be a partial relapse from what White calls the 'culturological' approach to the psychological approach, so congenial to the individualism of contemporary America. This appearance is enhanced by, if not due to, the technical terms—'set', 'interaction rate', 'originates to', . . . defined in chapter 12 and employed in the rest of the book. 'A set is an aggregate of relations of such a nature that every individual is a member of one of three classes within it as follows: (A) a class of individuals who only originate; (B) an intermediate class who respond to the origins of A and originate to members of C; and (C) a terminal class of individuals who only respond and who do so to the origins of members of both A and B'. After such a definition, it is difficult to avoid the impression that leadership is due to mysterious psychological properties of individuals. But in fact an effort is made, most successfully in the case of economic institutions, to establish correlations between the phenomena of leadership and the previously defined technological classes.

The last two Parts are entitled 'Symbols and Human Relations' and deal with Rites (divided into Rites of Passage and Rites of Intensification), the supernatural world, language, art, games and warfare, money, law, and science. It would be impertinent for an archaeologist to attempt an appreciation, still less a criticism, of these sociological chapters. It might even be out of place in an archaeological journal. For the purposes of the latter it should suffice to mention a few points that seem specially relevant.

Magic is, following Tozzer, defined as the technique of religion. Religion derives from rites the function of which is to restore equilibrium in individuals or in the groups at times of 'crisis'. 'Crisis' means a time of great change in the interaction rates of the individual or the whole group, for instance puberty and harvest, which upsets the equilibrium of those affected. In the one case the disturbance 'is countered by a series of techniques (rites of passage) requiring the interaction of the disturbed individuals in specific and habitual ways'. In the other case 'the techniques (rites of intensification) used enable the individuals affected by the changes to build up the new interaction rates needed to restore their equilibrium'. The complexity of the ritual techniques is shown to be correlated with the complexity of practical techniques previously defined.

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Incidentally we read how among the Aztecs 'farmers were buried since they worshipped a god associated with rain and the earth; the worshippers of most of the other gods (i.e. traders, craftsmen, warriors) were cremated'. Of course the Aztecs were a fairly complex and articulated society, but the passage is commended to those prehistorians who deduce conquests or invasions from the appearance of cremations in an inhumation cemetery or a general change over from one rite to another. At the same time it would have been relevant to the objects of the book to examine the relative wealth of the grave-goods in the several kinds of burial and the rules of inheritance among the different classes.

In the chapter on language the authors emphasize the 'importance of language in facilitating the execution of techniques; unless you know the names and uses of the various parts of a sailing vessel, you will be of little help in a storm. And it is these techniques, especially in trade, manufacturing and war, which tend to bring people together'. The authors go on to discuss rather summarily, the correlation between different types of language and cultural complexity, and the social significance of language differences within a society. 'Thus, the English are conditioned to these differences through their class system by which the Public School symbolizes origins and the Cockney the terminator class in the political system'. Having revealed language as a means of communication required in the first instance for the co-ordination of co-operative technical activity, the authors fail to proceed to consider its implications for the social creation of a rational 'world' out of a chaos of discrete sensations. To some extent this failure limits their account of science in chapter 19. It is none the less very competent. In particular the concrete account of methods of measurement used among illiterate societies today will help the archaeologist to appreciate the science of his preliterate ancestors.

In conclusion one should insist that for Chapple and Coon Anthropology is not concerned only with contemporary savages and illiterate tribes. Their surveys range from the Andamanese to the English, from Totemism to Christianity from subsistence to commercial economics. And, like archaeologists, they seek to draw historical conclusions from their comprehensive survey. 'The history of mankind throughout the world and throughout the time of which we have knowledge has followed a linear progression in two respects; (1) the complexity of human technology has increased so that men have been able to utilize more and more the resources of the terrestrial environments; (2) human relations and hence human institutions have also increased in complexity as a function of the increase in complexity of technology'. These are deductions from comparative ethnography, but they are confirmed by archaeology, which has the advantage of observing directly the time dimension that ethnography can only infer. V.G.C.